Daily Report

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East Europe Troop Withdrawal Second Stage Complete

LD2712090290 Moscow TASS in English 0845 GMT 27 Dec 90

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—"The Soviet Union is scrupulously fulfilling its commitments to withdraw its troops from East European countries and Mongolia," Colonel-General German Burutin, deputy head of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces Main Department, told TASS in conjunction with the completion of the second stage in Soviet Troop withdrawal from Eastern Europe and Mongolia.

According to the general, about 200,000 personnel, 7,000 tanks, 4,000 artillery pieces, and 750 aircraft were moved out of Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Mongolia from 1987 to 1990, i.e. Since the withdrawal began.

"Over 44,000 officers and men, 1,078 tanks, 680 artillery pieces and 160 aircraft have already left the Southern Group of troops (Hungary)," Burutin said.

"About 57,000 personnel, 1,260 tanks, 1,060 artillery pieces and 80 aircraft will also be withdrawn from the Central Group of troops (Czechoslovakia) as scheduled," Burutin stressed.

Only a quarter of the personnel and from 10 to 15 percent of the military hardware and equipment are left on Czechoslovak territory, awaiting the complete withdrawal. The same number of personnel and from 15 to 20 percent of tanks, artillery pieces and aircraft remain in Hungary.

"The contingent of Soviet troops, remaining temporarily in Mongolia, will be moved out between 1991 and 1992 as planned," Burutin noted.

"The third, last, stage in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and Czechoslovakia is sure to be carried out by July 1, 1991, as was agreed," Burutin said.

Ground Forces General Discusses Arms Reduction

LD2612155290 Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Report on interview with Colonel-General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the General Staff of Ground Forces, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] Following the signing of the agreement on reducing conventional armed forces in Europe, reports appeared in Western mass media claiming that the Soviet military are taking steps designed to bypass the Paris agreements. Our reporter has had a talk with the chief of the General Staff of the land force of the USSR, [Colonel-]General Mikhail Kolesnikov. He asked him of the Soviet Union really wanted to get certain units, tanks, and military equipment out of control by moving it secretly to the east, to the territory behind the Ural mountains. Here is what Gen. Kolesnikov replied:

When the agreement on conventional armed forces was in a state of preparation, Gen. Kolesnikov said, the Soviet Union provided all the necessary information required under the agreement's terms. This information covered not only the armed forces and armaments that were subject to cuts, but also other arms and services. They included the information on the weaponry of the marine and coast defense units. They are part of the naval force and the naval force is known not to have been on the agenda of the talks. These units are armed with the same tanks and artillery systems as the land force is.

As for the reports about the alleged secret transfer of our equipment to the territory east of the Ural mountains, they fail to correspond to reality.

In the last three years we have considerably reduced the amount of weaponry in the Soviet Union's European part. Some of these weapons have been scrapped or readjusted for economic purposes. I must stress that all these measures had been carried out long before the signing of the agreement and outside its framework. And we made no secret of that. We violated no commitments, nor are we going to violate them in the future, Gen. Kolesnikov added.

Rumors continue circulating about what is termed as the Soviet Defense Ministry's uncompromising stand at the talks on the reduction of offensive strategic weapons being held by the Soviet Union and the United States in Geneva—Gen. Kolesnikov. [passage omitted]

As far as the allegedly uncompromising stand of the Soviet military at the talks is concerned, I'd like to note that while no 50 percent cut is envisaged either on the whole or in separate units in the American strategic force, the uncompromising Soviet military agreed to a 50 percent cut in their heavy intercontinental ballistic missiles and to about the same cut in the (?delivered) gross weight of our ballistic missile, the chief of the General Staff of the land force, Gen. Kolesnikov said in conclusion.

Churkin 26 December News Briefing Reported

Notes Belousov-Led Baghdad Visit

LD2612143990 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 26 Dec 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstantin Voitsekhovich and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—Four hundred Soviet citizens arrived in Moscow last night by a charter flight from Baghdad, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing here today.

A total of 1,634 Soviet citizens have left Iraq since the Soviet foreign minister reported on the matter in New York. Some 1,700 Soviet specialists now remain in that country. The spokesman noted that under a drafted schedule, their evacuation would be completed by January 10.

As for the economic and technical aspects of suspended work at projects being built with Soviet assistance, Churkin said that the two sides have reached agreement.

However, taking into account the Iraqi side's insistence that the Soviet side should clearly specify its obligations in connection with the suspension of contracts, it was found expedient to hold top-level talks and formalise understandings in an appropriate way.

For this purpose, Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Igor Belousov, heading a special group set up on the instruction of President Mikhail Gorbachev, departed for Baghdad today.

He is accompanied by Vasiliy Kolotusha, head of the Middle East and North Africa Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

It is expected that Belousov will meet Iraqi First Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan, Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz and Deputy Prime Minister Sa'dun Hammadi, the spokesman noted.

Notes Cambodian Settlement Plan

LD2612163690 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 26 Dec 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstantin Voitsekhovich and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Excerpt] Moscow December 26 TASS—[Passage omitted] The foreign ministers of France and Indonesia, co-chairmen of the Paris international conference on Cambodia, met in Paris on December 21-22. It was an important step towards convening the final stage of the Paris conference on Cambodian settlement, Churkin said.

The Soviet Union believes that the adoption by Cambodia of a settlement plan helps fill the gap in the rate of the negotiating process on the international and inter-Khmer levels and speeds progress toward final settlement of the Cambodian issue, Churkin said.

The Soviet Union has already received 16,423 tonnes of humanitarian aid from 25 countries, including 9,947 tonnes of food and 307 tonnes of medicines, Churkin said. The main bulk of aid, amounting to 13,218 tonnes, has been received from Germany, he said.

Welcomes New Lebanese Government

LD2612141190 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 26 Dec 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstantin Voitsekhovich and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—"The new Lebanese government headed by Omar Karami, composed of representatives of the Moslem and Christian communities, will certainly help the country to end the civil war," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin said here today.

"The Soviet Union sincerely wishes the new cabinet of ministers in Lebanon success in implementing the charter of national accord, adopted in al-Ta'if. Consistently translating the charter into life will give the Lebanese people an opportunity to restore peace and unity in their country, ensure its sovereignty and territorial integrity."

"The USSR calls upon all Lebanese parties to give energetic assistance to the government's efforts aimed to attain these goals," Churkin said.

"For its part, the Soviet Union will continue vigorously to support the Lebanese leadership's steps to achieve an internal settlement in Lebanon on the basis of the al-Ta'if accords," Churkin noted.

No 'Departure' From UN Gulf Resolutions Seen

LD2612152390 Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] A mere three weeks are to go before 15 January, the deadline set by the UN Security Council for Baghdad to withdraw its troops from Kuwait. If it does not pull out, military force may be used against Iraq. Mikhail Mayorov of our staff has this comment:

Some believe there are indications that the anti-Iraqi coalition has grown weaker and that time has been playing into President Husayn's hand. A conference of the five permanent member countries of the United Nations Security Council due shortly is now in question. Iraq's refusal to hold negotiations with Washington on the date suggested by the Americans has messed up the card. The sides failed to come to the negotiating table and the big five are now to decide whether they should meet in London.

The doubts within the alliance also have some internal reasons, however. Does Eduard Shevardnadze's standard [as heard] resignation not mean that Moscow has reconsidered its previous attitude to the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq? The Persian Gulf crisis was present among the reasons Shevardnadze referred to to explain his decision. That is so but the differences with a group of lawmakers concern not the issue (?as such) whether to be or not to be with the international community but only one aspect of it, rather sensitive to the Soviet people. Everybody is concerned whether Soviet troops will be moved to the likely theater of war and, if so, who will make that decision and how. This question is frequently asked not only in Soviet legislative circles but also in the United States. A number of American congressmen would not like to give George Bush a free hand and have been insisting that a decision should be authorized by the national legislature. What has been happening in the Soviet Union is standard practice in all legislative democracies.

The world community has just begun to develop a common approach to trouble spots. I believe that Baghdad will make another mistake if it interprets natural problems facing nations that have just begun to unite as a split and its own diplomacy victory. All countries without exception must learn to act together. Some American observers have remarked quite correctly that President Bush takes too many liberties when he speaks about Baghdad's policies on behalf of the international community. After all, the developments in the Gulf are not confined to U.S.-Iraqi relations. The situation must be seen as resistance by most members of the United Nations to an act of aggression. It is not so much the might of the U.S. Armed Forces as the accord of the countries of the world, achieved for the first time, that makes the anti-Iraqi coalition strong. If we put unconfirmed speculation aside for a while, it will become clear that there has been no indication of the departure from the United Nations Security Council resolutions, either in Moscow or elsewhere.

NATO Issues Communique on New Strategies

PM2012140190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent V. Peresada under the rubric: "Abroad": "Preparing for Changes—NATO Council Session Ends"]

[Text] Brussels, 19 Dec— At the headquarters of the North Atlantic alliance, a session has been held of the highest body in its political chain of command—the council. Foreign ministers of the alliance member countries took part in this meeting.

The session's work attracted heightened attention throughout the world. This is because the central point on the agenda was a question of extraordinary importance: the "transformation" of NATO in the light of the changes in Europe and the world as a whole. This question was posed back at the July session of the NATO Council in London, and the current session was due to elaborate a directive for the alliance's practical adaptation to the new conditions, NATO Secretary General M. Woerner told me.

The communique which was adopted gives an assessment of recent events which, in the opinion of the session participants, will facilitate progress toward a "just and stable peaceful order in Europe" and hence toward possibilities of NATO's "transformation." Among these possibilities is the signing of the Paris "Charter for a New Europe," the conclusion of the CFE treaty, and the establishment of official ties between NATO, the Soviet Union, and East European states. "Today it is less possible than ever before to ensure security by military means alone," the communique says, "Therefore we will widen the political functions of the alliance in parallel."

On the basis of this conclusion the ministers confirmed the course of reviewing NATO's strategy. So far there is much here that is unclear, but some features of the renewed "defensive doctrine" have already been delineated. For example, it is clear that the concept of "deterrence" will continue to operate, and that a combination of conventional and nuclear forces will be preserved to ensure "sufficient defense."

A justification for this approach is given in the communique. It says that nowadays the risk stems not so much from the possibility of an attack on the members of the Alliance as from the unpredictable consequences of instability which could arise as a result of rapid political and economic changes on the continent. Let us grant that this is indeed the case. At the same time the communique says that, however, out of considerations of "caution," a counterbalance is needed to the USSR's military potential. In other words, they intend to continue to extend the doctrine of "deterrence" to us in the future. Now this is more difficult to understand, insomuch as the Paris Joint Declaration of NATO and the Warsaw Pact states they stated that they no longer consider themselves opponents. Let us not be hasty with our assessment; however, let us wait and see what the new NATO strategy looks like in its "finished form." According to M. Woerner, it should be elaborated by the summer of next year.

At the same time, much attention at the session was devoted to the Soviet Union in the "positive aspect," so to speak. Ministers noted the great importance of perestroyka in the USSR and came out in favor of substantial expansion of economic cooperation.

An interesting element in the work of the session is the stress on increasing the West European countries' role in "alliance defense policy." Support for the EC plan to set up a political union, which would also deal with questions of ensuring security, is mentioned for the first time in NATO documents (hitherto the United States has been more than cool toward this idea).

To what extent will all that has been discussed during this period in Brussels be realized? This will be shown by the approaching year of 1991, which M. Woerner has called decisive as regards the "transformation" of NATO.

Observers Roundtable Views ROK Leader's Visit

LD2312204790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 23 Dec 90

["International Observers' Roundtable" hosted by Boris Andrianov, with Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the editorial board of the weekly magazine ZA RUBEZHOM; and Sergey Mikhaylovich Golyakov, political observer for NOVOYE VREMYA magazine]

[Excerpts] [Andrianov] We now present our traditional broadcast International Observers at the Roundtable. Your host today is Boris Andrianov. Taking part with me are Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the editorial board of the weekly ZA RUBEZHOM magazine, and Sergey Mikhaylovich Golyakov, a political observer for the NOVOYE VREMYA magazine.

No Tae-u, president of the Republic of Korea, completed his visit to our country at the beginning of this week. His stay attracted attention from wide circles of the foreign public, particularly in the countries of Asia. But that is only natural. For not so very long ago relations between our countries could have been better, to put it mildly. But that is all in the past. Speaking at a news conference, President No Tae-u himself stressed that we should leave the past history of our relations to the historians—or as we say in Russian, it is all in the past.

[Volskiy] I would suggest that this visit will leave its mark on the history of more than just bilateral relations between Moscow and Seoul. For the declaration signed at the end of the South Korean president's visit to the USSR is a comprehensive document. There is hardly any need to recap on it, since I would imagine our listeners know of it, but all the same it would merit recapping, insofar as it has to be admitted that the current positive developmental processes are lagging behind in the Asian-Pacific region. By that I mean, of course, the ongoing process on the continent of Europe, above all.

[Golyakov] I will break in there, if I may, for this reason: There is currently discussion going on as to the meaning—the hidden meaning, if you like—behind the improvement in our relationship with South Korea. I would say that No Tae-u's visit to our country is the culmination of a lengthy yet unusually swift flourishing of relations between the Soviet Union and South Korea. In my view, it is of great importance that the aforementioned declaration on the general principles of relations between our countries notes the importance of peace on the Korean peninsula and recognizes the desire of the Korean nation for reunification.

[Andrianov] Yes, that is very important. I would suggest that this aspect of the declaration is what I would call essentially enduring. Judge for yourselves: This year is the 38th since there was peace in that part of our planet—the Korean peninsula. All there has been is an armistice. Hardly normal. Yet the Korean peninsula is inhabited by a single people, divided into two parts by the 38th parallel. From the historical point of view, this can hardly be regarded as commonsense. That said, it is up to the Koreans themselves to decide how they should proceed. In my opinion it would be tactless to prompt them. Only the people have the right to choose. I can say this without fear of contradiction.

[Volskiy] Indeed, it would be hard to contradict that point of view, but all the same I think it is essential to mention another aspect of the agreement reached between Moscow and Seoul—the economic aspect. It is particularly important, both for our country and of course for South Korea, lest anyone should think that we Soviet people are seeking purely personal gain, so to speak. There is no getting away from it, we are keen on the Republic of Korea helping us at this difficult time to get to grip with certain things and to ease our domestic economic problems. Seoul can do something about this. In the words of the South Korean president, his country's economy possesses many elements that are important for the Soviet Union, too. Our new partner is, as No Tae-u said, ready to supply us with ships, cars, electronic technology and construction equipment, and also to train highly qualified personnel to manage the enterprises.

But we have no wish to remain debtors. The Soviet Union—and these are more than mere hollow phrases—has vast resources at her disposal, has a huge potential domestic market and high technology which we are prepared to share with anyone who meets us halfway.

[Golyakov] The financial quarters in South Korea have, quite understandably, supplied their view of No Tae-u's visit. For, after all, as the saying goes he who pays the piper calls the tune. So, South Korea's financial quarters—as reported by the YONHAP agency—believe that No Tae-u's visit will have a beneficial effect on the state of trade and economic ties between our countries, and will generate growth in South Korean capital investment in the Soviet economy; and you will realize just how important that is for us at the moment.

[Andrianov] I should like to cite the following example: A Soviet delegation is due to arrive in Seoul on 20 January next year, that is, in under a month. It will thrash out the final details of agreements which are expected to result in $3 billion worth of South Korean goods being dispatched to the Soviet Union. Part of this consignment will be financed, so to speak, by South Korean credits.

[Volskiy] This is, in my opinion, extremely important. I believe anyone who concludes economic agreements with us is looking to the future. Here I would say that whoever remains a bystander could miss the boat, or as we say, could miss his seat in the last car of the departing

train. Of course, you could probably guess whom I have in mind, but all the same—better to be frank and to dot our "i"s.

[Golyakov] I would guess you are talking about Japan, and I do not think I am mistaken. For Tokyo still regards our country without any great certainty and inexplicably procrastinates.

[Andrianov] Although it was Tokyo that was the first to react to No Tae-u's trip to Moscow and to the declaration signed here. On the very day the document was signed, Toshiki Kaifu, the Japanese prime minister, declared that he regards the declaration in a positive light, as a move aimed at advancing detente in Asia. According to Watanabe, an official spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Ministry, the Soviet-South Korean declaration—or rather the signing of it—is an event of historic importance. He went on to note that the Japanese government believes that it will contribute to a lessening of tension on the Korean peninsula.

[Golyakov] I entirely agree that the improvement in relations between Moscow and Seoul will hasten the collapse of the cold war structures in the Far East. The wave of detente that originated in Europe has now reached the continent of Asia. That is only to be expected; in fact, it could not have been otherwise. For our whole world, even though it appears big, is in fact closely interconnected. The destinies of all peoples are interwoven. Whatever occurs in one part of our planet must inevitably exert an influence on the other regions, too. [passage omitted]

As we move onto the subject of the Persian Gulf crisis, I should start by saying that it is no accident that Eduard Amvroiyevich Shevardnadze's emotional announcement of his resignation at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies is bound up with this. [passage omitted]

[Andrianov] Tariq 'Aziz, Iraq's minister of foreign affairs, was to have had talks with President Bush in Washington, and then U.S. Secretary of State Baker was to have talks with Saddam Husayn in Baghdad. This idea was put forward by Bush, and Saddam Husayn agreed to it in principle.

[Golyakov] Yes, but only in principle—a dispute has blown up over the timetable for the talks. The Iraqis are trying their level best to postpone the second stage—Baker's visit to Baghdad—right up to the very eve of the critical 15 January. 'Aziz's visit to Washington has also been postponed. In my opinion, all this indicates that Iraq is trying to avoid complying with resolution 678 in the allotted timespan and is trying to gain time. Of course, one can always hope that at the last minute Baghdad will change its tough stance. I believe there is still hope.

[Volskiy] The way I see it, the Americans have also adopted quite a tough stance. For instance, Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser, says that at the summit meetings in Washington and Baghdad the Americans will not hold any negotiations whatever with the Iraqis. But in that case one might start to wonder what they intend to do at these meetings! I believe we should have some light shed on this stance.

[Golyakov] Sure enough, the statement is neither clear nor thoroughly thought through. Your perplexity is understandable.

[Andrianov] At this point I should like to dwell on the following matter: The reports of Iraq's preparations to begin production of nuclear weapons. Various dates are mentioned for when Iraq could start production—five years, to years, or even next year, 1991. Let us just recall that a few years ago the Israeli Air Force bombed an Iraqi nuclear reactor near Baghdad. So, if the reports cited above are to be believed, the Iraqis have managed not just to repair it rapidly, but even to leap ahead and start using nuclear power militarily. The Israeli and Western special services are supposed to have overlooked this! It is hard to believe that what we are faced with here is not an artificial inflation of the danger by those quarters which would like to take advantage of the situation to unleash a war as soon as possible, and to teach Baghdad a lesson, so to speak.

[Golyakov] Not just Baghdad—the whole of the Muslim world. That attitude really does exist, for example among a section of the Israeli ruling circles.

[Andrianov] But if, as some Western newspapers claim, there are those in Israel who want to impel Washington and its European and Arab allies to take swift, large-scale military action against Iraq, while at the same time remaining on the sidelines, then those people are playing a dangerous game. Dangerous, first and foremost, for their own country. For in the event of war Iraq would actually have a vested interest in spreading it to other countries of the region, primarily Israel.

[Golyakov] Yes, for in that case Saddam Husayn would cease to be viewed by the Arabs as an aggressor who had seized a neighboring Arab country, and come to be seen as the leader of a jihad—a holy war by the Arabs, the Muslims—against Israel and its protectors and accomplices. Baghdad has any number of ways of involving Israel in military action. It could, for example, deliver a rocket strike using chemical weapons, something that had been threatened even before the present crisis. True, this would be followed by devastating retaliation, quite likely a nuclear strike on Iraq.

[Volskiy] Which is why other options are preferable to the Baghdad regime—for instance, options which employ the special services, various sorts of terrorists or the missiles which Iraq has reportedly deployed not on its own home territory, but in some friendly Arab countries such as Sudan.

[Andrianov] In short, if real war breaks out, it could prove uncontrollable. Given this, everybody should tread warily. All the same, the main key to averting war

rests, I would say, with Saddam Husayn. He caused the present crisis, and he should be the one to make the main contribution to resolving it peacefully. He should do his bit and withdraw his troops from Kuwait. True, it is sometimes claimed that he cannot afford to do this unless he has some reward, since this would undermine his prestige and the stability of his regime.

[Volskiy] On the other hand, it is dangerous to place Baghdad in a no-win situation, and to corner it. In that case Saddam Husayn could go for broke and embark upon some sort of new military escapade. Not just against Israel, but also, for instance, against Turkey, which as you know is a member of NATO.

[Golyakov] In other words, you mean that he would operate on the principle, join battle and see what comes of it. No good will come of it, either for Iraq or for anybody else. In particular not for our country. Whoever fires the first shot, a big war in the Persian Gulf will bring no good. What it would bring is great complexity and difficulty. You mentioned the danger of Iraqi action against Turkey, a NATO member. According to some reports, in anticipation of this threat, Turkey has already asked NATO to build up its material and technological aid, and perhaps even more besides. In other words, there is a danger of a second front being opened in immediate proximity to the borders of our country. Moreover, in the area adjacent to Transcaucasia, an extremely unstable region, as you know.

[Andrianov] That is why I consider it important for us—here and now—having sided solidly with the majority of the world's countries in resolutely condemning Iraqi aggression against Kuwait; at the same time we should use all our influence in this coalition to ensure that every opportunity is taken to resolve the crisis peacefully. That, incidentally, is the essence of the policy on the Kuwaiti crisis that is linked with the names of Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

With this, we round off our traditional meeting of international observers at the roundtable. Goodbye and all the best.

Afro-Asian Solidarity Seeks Peaceful Settlement

LD2412195390 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 24 Dec 90

[TExt] Moscow December 24 TASS—The end of the cold war has not yet led to the building of a non-violent world or a new world economic order. Relapses of power politics still manifest themselves in various regions of Asia and Africa, says a statement issued by the presidium of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. The statement was adopted at the committee's just ended plenary meeting here.

The committee plenum reaffirmed solidarity with the victims of any aggression and position-of-strength policy and expressed firm commitment to the principles of new thinking and the solution of all conflicts by peaceful political means.

Participants in the plenum supported the international community's efforts towards a peaceful settlement of problems and urged the United Nations to intensify work to resolve existing regional conflicts and avert new ones.

"In the present-day interconnected world, small-scale wars are fraught with a great threat. The clouds of war over the Gulf, where the consequenses of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East have not yet been eliminated, pose a threat on a global scale," the statement says.

The plenum recognised it to be the main line of the committee's activities to work to promote the establishment of negotiating mechanisms for the development of peace processes throughout Afro-Asian space in the interests of strengthening friendship and cooperation in relations between countries and peoples.

"Making our contribution to the building of all-European security and East-West confidence, we may not slacken solidarity with the peoples of Asia and Africa struggling against oppression, militarism and totalitarianism," the statement stresses.

"We may not betray the idea and spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity if only because we ourselves feel support and solidarity from other peoples at this time of difficulty for our perestroyka," the statement says.

United States & Canada

Planned Baker-Saddam Talks 'Gleam of Hope'

LD2712033190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Commentary by Yevgeniy Grachev]

[Text] Amid the storm clouds menacing war that have been gathering more densely over the Persian Gulf, a scheduled meeting between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and President Saddam Husayn of Iraq appears as a slight gleam of hope. According to AFP, the meeting is due to take place on 9 January next year. Announcing this, the agency cites serious sources and also the Israeli press, which in its turn has, without naming names, been quoting pronouncements by American and Israeli diplomats. If one believes these claims, secret talks are now under way between the United States and Iraq. During them the date has been agreed for the meeting between the president of Iraq and the U.S. secretary of state. If the meeting takes place, it will probably be the last chance to settle the Persian Gulf crisis peacefully.

The intentions of the sides confronting each other in the area are very serious. At any rate, the most varied threats are heard from Baghdad. It is a question, of course, of options for the use of force. They include preventive strikes at American aircraft carriers and acts of sabotage in the Suez Canal and in other vulnerable spots, of which there are many in the region when one considers the large number of oil wells and oil pipelines.

In this sense, the utterances by American military leaders are little different. They are emphasizing the readiness of the U.S. Armed Forces and that of its allies to begin combat actions immediately after 15 January, the date specified in the UN Security Council resolution. The Pentagon chief, for instance, after visiting the areas where U.S. forces are deployed in Saudi Arabia, expressed himself unequivocally. He said, and I quote: If we are so ordered, we shall be ready to begin actions this very day. In other words, the situation is getting more tense.

As for the positions of Arab states—despite all the diversity and all the variety ranging from emphatic condemnation of Iraq to support for that country—they nevertheless are united on one thing: The crisis must be settled. In this sense the viewpoint of the ever cautious and restrained King Fahd of Saudi Arabia appears noteworthy. He has stated, and do forgive me for yet another quote: Our decision is not the choice between war and peace. We have decided to return freedom to Kuwait by peaceful means, if peace is possible, or by military means, if there remains no other means than war. It is noteworthy that the King made this statement at a meeting of the Cooperation Council of Arab states in the Persian Gulf. After a four-day meeting in Doha, the Qatar capital, the participants made a decision to set up a regional security system. In the future this system will make it possible to avoid events like those that began on 2 August when Iraq's forces seized Kuwait. This stance of six Arab states is a formulation of the attitude of the Arabs to the bellicose regime in Iraq. Many in the Near East perceive a direct threat to themselves in the present events.

Now, as the present year and the present decade are ending, I would like to look ahead a little into the future. Will the 1990's become a time of hope for the Near East? The past decade has been full of fearsome, tragic, and bloody events. I think that much will become clear in January. For the time being, one may assert just one thing: The foundation for the future is being laid at the present time. Restraint, common sense, and a readiness for dialogue are all qualities that are needed now, not later. The 15 January deadline set by the world community is too close. Only a few days remain, but these days will go down in history as days for elaborating a solution.

Northeast Asia

Japanese Foreign Minister Postpones Jan Visit

LD2612202390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1857 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] 26 Dec (TASS)—Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayamo has decided to postpone his official visit to the USSR which was planned for the beginning of January.

A spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Ministry reported today that this has been decided in response to a request from the Soviet side which referred to "internal circumstances". in Moscow, T. Nakayama planned to discuss the preparations for the visit of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev to Japan planned for next spring with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze.

The new timescale for the official visit to the Soviet Union by the leader of the Japanese foreign policy department will be arranged through diplomatic channels. The Japanese side is planning to achieve the relevant accord before the routine session of the country's parliament opens in the end of January, the KYODO TSUSHIN agency reports.

Japan Unveils Economic Development Credit Plan

PM2712085090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent I. Latyshev under the rubric: "Abroad": "Reluctantly"]

[Text] Tokyo—Misoji Sakamoto, Japan's chief cabinet secretary, has announced the Japanese Government's decision to give the Soviet Union $100 million credit.

Unlike the usual credits from Japan's government export-import bank aimed at promoting the economic

development of various countries, the credit in question is being given in the form of "humanitarian aid."

At the same time Sakamoto stressed that the Japanese Government intends to continue to refrain from giving the Soviet Union credit for economic development until the Soviet side accommodates Japanese territorial demands.

Near East & South Asia

Foreign Ministry Says Iraq Evacuations Continuing

LD2412143490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Text] Here is a statement issued by the USSR Foreign Ministry:

In accordance with the present timetable for evacuation, groups of Soviet specialists working in Iraq are returning home by bi-weekly Aeroflot flights. Another 232 people arrived in Moscow from Baghdad today. About 2,100 of our citizens remain there. The evacuation will continue.

Reports Examine Situation, Politics in Baghdad

Economic, Other Hardships Viewed

LD2612184690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1645 GMT on 25 December carries a 20-minute recorded video report by Baghdad correspondent Aleksandr Levchenko on life in Baghdad, entitled: "Baghdad—Between Peace and War."

Levchenko begins the report with video footage of Baghdad at sunrise, saying: "What will the new day be like? What will it bring to the people of Baghdad? A new and even more bloody war? Or long-awaited peace and tranquility? It is difficult—almost, impossible—to answer this question now, when Iraq's 500,000-strong Army is dug into the desert close to the Saudi Arabian border. From the other side, it is opposed by the no less powerful expeditionary Army of the United States and by military units from a number of other countries that have been sent to the Persian Gulf."

Levchenko evaluates Soviet-Iraqi relations, saying: "No matter what the state of political relations now between the Soviet Union and Iraq, the Iraqis' attitude toward Soviets has not changed: It remains polite and respectful. The magic word Rusi—or Soviet—always prompts a warm smile on the face of a shopkeeper or passerby who would suspect you of being an American. A Ministry of Information representative who accompanied the film crew explained. He said: Politics is politics, but we have always had friendly feelings toward Soviet people."

Levchenko assesses Baghdad's economic situation in light of worldwide sanctions against Iraq, noting: "Soviet journalists who arrived in the Iraqi capital recently experienced a gentle shock when they came up against Baghdad's realities, and how! The entire country—not just the city—has been in the grips of an economic blockade for more than four months. But here, we see shop doors open wide. It is even somewhat embarrassing to show the whole range of available goods to our television viewers who are not spoiled with plenty, but we decided to show everything as it is, neither subtracting nor adding anything."

Levchenko follows with video clips of Baghdad street scenes and Baghdad bazaar shops and says: "Many of the little shops have simply closed, while those that remain open are selling unsophisticated goods made on the spot in the market."

Levchenko is then shown interviewing several Baghdad citizens waiting in a bread line, including one man who claims life under sanctions is "virtually unchanged" as there is "quite enough" food.

Levchenko tours a Baghdad vegetable market, pointing out the "abundance" of fruits and vegetables on sale. He says: "From where does it all come? Under blockade conditions, at that! The explanation is quite simple: the state has not only given out vacant land without payment for use by peasant farmers but also has demobilized all those in the Army who deal with agriculture. In these complicated times!" Levchenko then shows video clips from several Baghdad vegetable and meat markets. He notes: "The piles of meat in the shops in the bazaar, quite simply, put us into a state of shock. We were even more shocked when we learned the prices of this magnificent fresh meat." Levchenko points out that the Iraqi Government not only fixes maximum prices for goods but also "monitors them rigorously so there is no free reign for speculators in Iraq."

Levchenko turns to those problems "that are not so easy to solve," noting that "what is now being felt most acutely is the shortage of medicines." Levchenko then interviews a pharmacist at an Al-Mansur District pharmacy, who says: "There are few medicines now because of the blockade, and we sometimes are obliged to deny things to the sick, even when they have a prescription. The shortage of medicines used in cases of diabetes and cardiovascular disease is being felt particularly acutely. Of course, there is also a shortage of food for children, all of which we used to import. Children cannot manage without food and formula."

After the video clips of Levchenko interviewing the pharmacist are shown, Levchenko visits an "ordinary" Baghdad grocery store. "The clerks," says Levchenko, "clearly were not embarrassed by the fact that spirits were on display on their shelves, including Soviet vodka. The price of alcoholic drinks is extremely high, and few Iraqi on average salaries come here. But, judging by the happy faces of the owners of the shop, the blockade has had little effect on their income."

Levchenko is shown visiting a Baghdad mosque, saying: "The call by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn for a holy

war against the foreigners who have defiled the holy places of Islam in Saudi Arabia was supported by the clergy of this mosque."

Levchenko reports: "The UN Security Council resolution permitting the use of force against Iraq if it does not withdraw its troops from Kuwait has radically changed the situation in the region. In Western media commentaries, the word war is being repeated more frequently—war as the ultimate means for compelling Iraq to submit to the demands of the world community. Meanwhile, a statement adopted at a recent joint sitting of the Revolutionary Command Council and the regional leadership of the Ba'ath Party says Iraq rejects the language of ultimatums and threats. It rejects the Security Council resolution, regarding it as illegal. It is ready not only to confront, quote, any aggression but also to teach the United States a serious lesson."

Levchenko shows video clips of "ordinary Iraqis" reacting to the prospects of war, who protest the "unjust UN Security Council resolution" and insist Kuwait "historically is Iraqi territory."

Levchenko then shows video clips of Baghdad's Victory Square and reminds viewers that Iraq lost many soldiers during the Iraq-Iran war, adding: "The situation in the Persian Gulf is now extremely critical. No one can say how the confrontation between the almost one million-strong armies concentrated on the Kuwaiti-Saudi border will end. Military action could start literally at any time after 15 January 1991."

Levchenko notes that "hopes that there will be a peaceful resolution to the Kuwaiti crisis are dwindling," adding: "The clock counting Iraq's final days of peace has started. Will anyone be able to stop the fatal movement of its hands? Or are mountains of broken bricks all that will be left of the wonderful city of Baghdad?"

Levchenko ends the report with video clips of Iraqis visiting Victory Square and of a Baghdad sunset.

Situation Seen as 'Tense'

LD2612192990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1705 GMT on 25 December, immediately after Moscow Television correspondent Andrey Levchenko's report on life in Baghdad entitled "Baghdad—Between Peace and War," carries the following one-minute commentary by Andrey Popov:

"Esteemed viewers, you have just seen a film made by Aleksandr Levchenko, our correspondent in Iraq. As far as conditions allow, he has presented an objective picture of today's situation in Baghdad. I would like to stress that during the making of this film, the Iraqi side not only did not hamper the work of the film crew but also, on the contrary, created the most favorable conditions for it. I feel this is because the film was made especially for Soviet television.

"Despite the outward serenity, life in Baghdad and the situation in this part of the world is extremely tense. The period set out by the UN Security Council for the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from the territory of occupied Kuwait expires 15 January. Thereafter, the Armed Forces of several member countries of NATO and of twelve Arab and Moslem states might launch combat operations to force the Iraqi leadership to carry out the appropriate UN resolution.

"Naturally, if events were to develop in that way, it could lead to unpredictable consequences in this region, which is already explosive. There are enough hot spots and unresolved problems here, including the most chronic of all: the Palestinian problem.

"It can now be said that there are no hopes of a peaceful settlement of the conflict, though hardly anyone would now begin to state this categorically. Efforts to prevent war continue. Under these conditions, our country's position is of no small importance. It has been revealed, and it continues to favor ending the Persian Gulf confrontation.

"The Soviet Union is linked to the Iraqi people by bonds of long-standing friendship. At the same time, the Soviet leadership, feeling sincere affection for the Iraqi people, has repeatedly given Iraqi leaders the insistent advice that they should leave Kuwait and restore the sovereignty and independence of that country. Only then will the peaceful life you have seen in our correspondent's film have any chance of being preserved in the future."

Regime Said to 'Soften' Stance

LD2612115190 Moscow TASS in Engish 1128 GMT 26 Dec 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yefremov]

[Text] Cairo December 26 TASS—"Diplomats in Baghdad believe there are signs that the Iraqi regime is ready to soften its stand on the Gulf crisis," the Middle East News Agency (MENA)—reports from Iraq. In their opinion, Saddam Husayn is ready to accept the mediation of "third sides" to settle the issue. They also believe this problem is now being discussed with Iraqi ambassadors summoned to Baghdad from U.N. Security Council member-countries.

The Qatar News Service reports with reference to "well-informed Arab circles" that new attempts are being made to start an Iraqi-American dialogue early in January.

At the same time, the Iraqi News Agency (INA) reports that 400,000 Algerians are ready to support Iraq as volunteers in case of hostilities. News from Iraq shows that several foreign brigades, made up mostly of Arab volunteers, have been included in the Iraq People's Army

The newspaper AL-AHRAM notes with reference to Western sources that Iraqi representatives have become

increasingly active in European states. They are trying to obtain enriched uranium, equipment and technologies that would allow Iraq to produce its own nuclear weapons.

Israel is alerting its Armed Forces in view of the growing danger of war with Iraq. Tension was escalated by Husayn's threat to strike at Tel Aviv first if hostilities were to break out. The Israeli Air Force is prepared for immediate combat action and reservists are being called up. Israeli troops are being moved to the border with Jordan, which lies between Israel and Iraq. Jordan is known to support some of Iraq's [words indistinct].

According to the Israeli Strategic Studies Centre, several mobile Iraqi missile launchers have been concentrated near the Jordanian-Iraqi border and may be moved into Jordanian territory.

Speaking after the Gulf Cooperation Council's 11th conference in Doha, which ended last night, Qatar Foreign Minister Mubarak ali al-Khatir stressed that council members would like the crisis to be settled peacefully, but any steps could be taken if if Iraq refused to withdraw from Kuwait. "Members of the Gulf Cooperation Council also believe it is necessary to strengthen their own defence capacity, including with the help of friendly Arab states," he noted.

"Several women were killed or wounded when demonstrations of Kuwait women were dispersed after the invasion of Kuwait," it is pointed out in the report issued by the Kuwait Women's Committee here on Tuesday. More than 800 Kuwait women are now in Iraqi jails, where they are being subjected to torture and violence.

Kuwaitis residing in Egypt have decided to celebrate the new year in mourning attire in protest against the continuing occupation of their country. They will hold a protest march in Cairo on new Year's Night.

East Europe

1991 Economic Agreement Signed With Romania

AU2112155990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1221 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/12/1990—A Romanian-Soviet Governmental agreement on the 1991 bilateral economic and trade cooperation was signed at Moscow by the Soviet minister for foreign economic relations Konstantin Katushev in compliance with the bilateral agreement that stipulates the resetting of the economic relations between the two countries on new bases [with effect from] 30 November 1990.

The agreement authorises conclusion of contracts between republics, districts and manufacturers, subsequent to mutual agreements and on their own responsibility, beyond the items and amounts listed on orientative appendixes.

Bulgarian Socialist Leaders Cited on Situation

PM2712084190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent L. Zhmyrev: "Not a Retreat, but a Compromise"]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Dec—The creation of a "mutlicolored" cabinet is receiving varied assessments from the main political forces in Bulgaria.

While there is rejoicing in the ranks of the opposition at the "fall of the last communist government in Bulgaria," you can sometimes hear from the socialists, particularly in the provinces, charges leveled against the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] leadership of "too large concessions" and even "betrayal of interests."

A. Lilov, leader of the Socialists and chairman of the BSP Supreme Party Council, has adopted a clear-cut stance. Speaking at Khaskovo the other day, he expressed the hope that the new cabinet will unite the nation and embark on reforms without losing time. The political situation now makes it possible for parliament to start working more intensively, he added, and this an essential condition for maintaining civil peace.

As far as the BSP's role in this situation is concerned, it is not unimportant. The party, which has three million voters behind it, remains true to its program of peaceful transition from totalitarianism to democracy. A. Lilov rejected rumors of the BSP "disbanding itself": More than 300,000 Socialists have already confirmed their membership.

A. Tomov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Party Council, who has become vice premier in the new government, stated for his part that the division of power with the opposition represents not a reteat, but a compromise.

West Europe

Need To Ratify German Treaty Explained

LD2612214990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Report by correspondent V Kondratyev in Bonn; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Everything in this world is interconnected. Statements by a number of USSR People's Deputies on possible complications with regard to the forthcoming ratification of the "two-plus-four" treaty by the Soviet legislature caused a sharp reaction in various circles of the FRG. Here is a report from Bonn:

[Kondratyev] I would like to remind you that the treaty of the Six, which was signed by the foreign ministers in Moscow on 12 September, has not become an obligatory treaty from the point of view of international law. The

sides agreed that the legislative bodies of their countries must express approval of this document.

So far the situation is such that the treaty has been ratified everywhere except in the Soviet Union. The pronouncements by some our deputies from the "Soyuz" group during the debates on Shevardnadze's resignation to the effect that some difficulties lie in store in respect of ratification have been perceived without panic here.

But the Germans would not be Germans if they have not analyzed such a possibility. Thus, a failure by our legislature to ratify the treaty is fraught with the fact that the treaty, as well as other agreements depending on it—for example the German-Polish agreement on borders—will not formally come into force.

In the opinion of the Germans, the Soviet Union will lose its moral right to act as a capable superpower. Such problems as the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany, the financial compensation of these expenses by the German Government, the undertaking to renounced the use of force, the disarmament process, and others will be in question. The four victorious powers agreed from the moment the GDR joins the FRG to temporarily renounce their rights and obligations toward Germany, but not to completely abolish them until the treaty finally comes into force.

Well, one asks, if we cancel this treaty, will everything go back to where it was before? One can confidently say: No! The Germans made their choice through a nationwide expression of the people's will, and international law cannot regard this fact as if it never took place.

All of these are the juridical aspects, but life itself poses a question in a simpler way. Bonn believes that Moscow will not be able to reverse the search for sovereign unity, even by using military force. The Soviet Union will only find itself in international isolation with dramatic consequences for its economy. Then one can forget about the billions from Bonn as well as about the kind attitude to us on the part of the German people. In this case we will achieve nothing but an unnecessary confrontation. Leading German politicians—for example Foreign Minister Genscher—look to the future with optimism, however. Here, there is a belief in our common sense.

Congress of People's Deputies

Yanayev Not Elected Vice President in Initial Vote

LD2712104790 Moscow TASS International Sevice in Russian 1033 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Report by TASS legislative correspondent from the Kremlin]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Dec (TASS)—Gennadiy Yanayev, the 53-year-old member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, failed to receive the essential number of votes to be elected USSR vice president. This was officially announced at the Congress of People's Deputies.

Yanayev received 1,089 votes in favor, and 583 against. To be elected Yanayev required 1,120 votes.

Gennadiy Yanayev was the sole candidate on the ballot for secret voting.

Gorbachev Renominates Yanayev for Vice President

LD2712121790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1134 GMT 27 Dec 90

[By TASS legislative correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov from the Kremlin]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Dec (TASS)—"I want to have a person whom I trust completely at my side at this most difficult turning point in life," USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev stated when repeating the proposal to the Fourth Congress of the USSR People's Deputies that Gennadiy Yanayev be candidate for the post of vice president.

In this morning's voting, 1,089 votes were cast in favor of Gennadiy Yanayev, 31 less than necessary for his election by a simple majority. When the ballot boxes were opened, they were found to contain 107 slips fewer than had been issued, and there were 113 spoiled papers.

"The fact that only 583 people, or 25 per cent of the total number of people's deputies, voted against Yanayev makes it possible for me to ask the congress once again to agree to my proposal, and I am again putting forward Yanayev's candidacy for election as vice president," Mikhail Gorbachev stated.

The president proposed that a second debate on Gennadiy Yanayev's candidacy be held today. "Anxiety must be removed, the discussion must be more detailed, and I am certain that we will agree that Yanayev's candidacy is suitable according to his personal qualities, both political and business, and according to his maturity," Mikhail Gorbachev said.

He emphasized that a vice president must be elected at the current congress. "We will have to tackle many issues of cadres in the very near future, we must act so that we... that we are not held up for long in forming the new team, for right now everyone will be waiting for their fate to be settled, and everyone will be idle at just the moment when action is needed," the president stated.

We now have "a last chance, and further on, if this leadership does not ensure a turnaround, it needs to be cleared off the political scene," Mikhail Gorbachev said.

Gorbachev Answers Questions on Yanayev Candidacy

LD2612231490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1859 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Speech by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev nominating Yanayev for USSR vice president, followed by questions and answers on Yanayev's candidacy; at the 26 December session of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Gorbachev] I am submitting for your examination the proposal to recommend Deputy Yanayev, Gennadiy Ivanovich [loud shouting and noise in the hall followed by applause] for election by secret vote as vice president. Gennadiy Ivanovich Yanayev—year of birth 1937. He was born in Gorkiy Oblast. He is a Russian and he has had higher education. He is a mechanical engineer, a lawyer, and a Candidate of Historical Sciences. He graduated from Gorkiy Agricultural Institute in 1959 and from the All-Union External Legal Institute in 1967. After completing his studies at the institute of higher learning—I want to briefly remind you of the biographical data and then state my recommendation in a brief reference—he worked in his specialized line as head of a mechanized detachment at an RTS [repair-technical station] in Gorkiy Oblast, as engineer-in-chief of a branch of Selkhoztekhnika [Association for the Sale of Agricultural Equipment to Collective and State Farms] in Gorkiy Oblast, as manager of a rayon branch of Selkhoztekhnika, still there in Gorkiy Oblast. For several years after that Comrade Yanayev held an elected post in the Komsomol. And up to 1980 he worked for several years as chairman of the Committee of USSR Youth Organizations. For six years he was deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. For three years he worked as secretary of the All-Union Central Committee of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] and in the 1989-90 period as AUCCTU deputy chairman and AUCCTU chairman. At present he is a CPSU Central Committee secretary.

As I see it, the duties of vice president will include a wide range of matters connected with the implementation of domestic and foreign policy, but with the understanding that there will function at the same time a cabinet of ministers headed by the prime minister. In this respect, Comrade Yanayev as an experienced politician has the best possible credentials to be recommended for this post. Those who have in recent years had contact with him, including within the framework of the Supreme Soviet and previously in the AUCCTU, will obviously agree with me that he is a person who has already

become a mature politician and knows his bearings well on political issues; a person with firm principles, an active supporter of perestroyka and an active participant in it, and I hope that the congress will support my proposal and show trust by electing Comrade Gennadiy Ivanovich Yanayev as vice president.

This is what I wanted to say. I proceed from the fact that he is somebody you know and this releases me from the need to address you with an expanded speech here. If there are any questions, please ask. There are none.

[Lukyanov] No questions? There is, Mikhail Sergeyevich. There is one question. Mikhail Sergeyevich will answer from here now. Please, Deputy Khadzhiyev, fifth microphone.

[Khadzhiyev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, the thing is that when we were electing the country president without an alternative, it was clear that we were electing the leader of perestroyka—you, its initiator. On the whole, I think that raising the question of an alternative would not have been justified in relation to you. everything was clear then. Now we are electing a vice president. In three years, when a vice president and a president are elected, I understand we will have two or three candidates nominated for presidency and vice presidency. Therefore, I do not see why—I thought for myself, on the whole, that you would nominate at least two or three candidates so that we could elect a vice president on an alternative basis, because Comrade Yanayev, given all my personal respect for him, does not have such a right to be given such odds as you have given. In connection with this I have a proposal: Can you think over and propose to us several candidates, after all? And addressing the congress: If the president does not consider this possible, we should reject any candidate he will propose on a single-candidate basis. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

[Gorbachev] I can say that in this case such a formulation cannot be regarded as correct or acceptable and such demands made to me and, especially, some kind of pressure on the congress, I think, are improper. This is the question—and this is inherent in the institution itself of presidential rule, of the presidency, that this should be someone named and picked by the president. It would be, in my view, strange for the president to appear before you and start deliberating in the following way: Well, I don't know, let's talk, there are many worthy people and so on. Some will say: listen, go ahead, make proposals, it is up to you to choose. So I choose Comrade Gennadiy Ivanovich Yanayev and ask to regard this as my constitutional right and as the fact that the process is under way of forming the presidential team...

[Lukyanov interrupting] Thank you...

[Gorbachev continues]...which will have to bear responsibility for everything it takes upon itself.

[Lukyanov] First microphone, Deputy Yusupov.

[Yusupov] Well, Mikhail Sergeyevich, we know Yanayev, of course. He is a very good and capable man, but why has it become a tradition in respect of such responsible posts for only cadres from the center to be proposed? In the republics there are also very strong cadres who are erudite, capable, and theoretically mature and are as good as Yanayev and others. [passage omitted]

[Gorbachev] If I must answer each utterance, I shall do so, but to my mind I have set out what I believe, and this by no means signifies that everything is a void beyond the bounds of this proposal. No, over these years very many interesting and important people have come to the fore and are heading large sectors of the state both in Moscow and in the republics in various areas of state and public life, but it is necessary to make a choice from the whole range. I can only submit to you one person, and I am submitting him.

[Lukyanov] Only if there are questions for the president—questions, not views. The sixth microphone, please.

[Unidentified deputy] Esteemed Anatoliy Ivanovich, I have...

[Lukyanov interrupting] Not to me. The question is to the president.

[Deputy] I have the following proposal. Since the candidacy of Comrade Yanayev, a CPSU Central Committee secretary and an active participant in perestroyka, has come as a surprise to many people, I propose that there now be a recess so that the deputies' groups that have been registered might assemble, discuss the candidacy, and then make a decision. Thank you.

[Gorbachev] Well, I think you now want, so to speak, to begin to put in doubt what we have adopted and inserted in the Constitution. It is a matter of what we have adopted—the additions, the law on the introduction of these additions—and in accordance with it the right to make the proposal remains with the president.

[Lukyanov] I ask just one thing of you, comrades. Let us have only questions for the president. You will have an opportunity later to express your views. Fifth microphone, please.

[Unidentified deputy] Mikhail Sergeyevich, everyone in this hall, as they say, heard you when you said that you had intended Shevardnadze for this post of vice president. I want to ask why this candidacy has not now, so to speak, appeared.

[Gorbachev] I think that the answer is clear. The situation itself as it has arisen gives you the answer.

[Lukyanov] Thank you. The second microphone. A question?

[Medvedev] Yes.

[Lukyanov] Go ahead, Deputy Medvedev.

[Medvedev] Much esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich. Well, I do not know other precedents, apart from the American one. Of course, the president picks out a vice president for himself. But, in our country the Communist Party is the ruling party, and don't you consider it necessary—inasmuch as at the latest plenum you said that the president is needed by the party and the party is needed by the president—don't you consider it necessary to have a preliminary discussion of this matter. In the United States this is discussed and approved at the party's congress—if only at the party's plenum or at the deputies' group of Communists, of party members?

[Lukyanov] Go ahead.

[Gorbachev] You know, the situation in our country has already been like that, when we convened Communists as members of the deputies' group—and this was 86 percent—then some absurd situation is created. That is why: Here we have the congress and I submit my proposals. This does not mean that I have not sought advice in some way or other, in one form or other, when holding consultations with various, so to speak, representatives of the congress, of the corps of deputies.

[Lukyanov] So. Go ahead. One more question. Go ahead, third microphone.

[Minzharenko] Deputy Minzharenko. Mikhail Sergeyevich, you have amazed many by proposing this candidacy. The amazement has been provoked precisely by the fact that quite recently you said that you had asked Shevardnadze for this post. But Shevardnadze and Yanayev are diametrically opposed politicians. That is why I have arrived at the following question to you: How could these two names be combined by you? Or is this indeed a change of course?

[Gorbachev] I think that you are under a delusion, and, being under a delusion, you want to foist this delusion on us. Yanayev and Shevardnadze were cooperating very vigorously because, in recent times in particular, they were both engaged in international issues: one through the party, and the other through the state. And they were cooperating very fruitfully and their positions are virtually—I can state that if they do not coincide, then they are very close, essentially in all areas of domestic and foreign policy. I assure you of that.

[Lukyanov] Thank you. [passage omitted] Are there other questions? Microphone six.

[Chernyak] Deputy Chernyak. Mikhail Sergeyevich, you have made your choice and now it is our turn to choose...

[Lukyanov interrupting] No, just a minute, is this a question?

[Chernyak continues] ...to vote. It is a question; I am coming to the question. You have said that we all know Comrade Yanayev quite well. I for one do not know him very well. And therefore, before voting, I would like to ask you to clarify on the basis of what criteria you have made this choice? Why Yanayev precisely?

[Gorbachev] I seem to have said, first, that he is a mature politician capable of participating in the discussion and adoption of important and major decisions on a state scale. He has the necessary skills for that. Second, this is a man who knows both internal directions... [changes thought] directions of internal policy and is thoroughly familiar with directions of foreign policy. Third, this is a man who is devoted to the policy of perestroyka and renewal of our society. And this, in my view, is enough to say about him. And I also value Comrade Yanayev's ability to conduct dialogue, communication, and to listen to others. This is his forte. [passage omitted]

[Lukyanov] All right, Sandulyak, microphone three.

[Sandulyak] Deputy Sandulyak. Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, we are all in God's hands. We all are mortal. Tell us, please, who... [changes thought] Do you see Comrade Yanayev in the post of the country's president, as your successor?

[Gorbachev] I think that, I think that I see him now in the post of vice president, and I am prepared, prepared to say that if tomorrow something is needed... and if some attendant circumstances arise, Comrade Yanayev will run things with confidence. He is a reliable man.

Yanayev Adresses Congress on Vice Presidency

LD2612235590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1919 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Remarks by CPSU Central Committee Poilitburo member Gennadiy Yanayev at Congress of USSR People's Deputies session at the Kremlin in Moscow on 26 December—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade president, esteemed comrade chairman, eminent congress: I would like to say straightaway that I am inclined to regard the proposal put forward by USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on the candidacy for vice president, in the first place, as a vast advance, and the most important thing is that I regard this proposal in the context of today's political situation which has arisen in the country.

The situation of crisis in the country makes it obligatory to show extremely high exactingness in choosing correct decisions and consequently in choosing candidates, too. And I believe that this is a responsible step for everyone—for the president; for you, esteemed eminent congress; and for the candidate, himself, too. There is no need for me today to set out my platform. It is well-known, since I have always considered myself recruited to support the policy which my party initiated six years ago. Today, if I were to try briefly to convey the essence of our debates at the congress, then evidently the fate of perestroyka is being decided and, consequently, the future of our fatherland, too.

Social tension in society—and I am not revealing anything new here—has reached a limit. Soviet people are pinning their last hopes on the ability of the country's leadership to act confidently and deflect the threat of economic collapse and political chaos. I am firmly convinced, moreover, I am sure that what is needed is profound and radical reforms of our society that are revolutionary in their nature. And therefore, from the very outset, I ask you to understand me correctly: I have been supporting Gorbachev's course toward perestroyka. I support perestroyka both intellectually and emotionally. And I think that the more than five years that have elapsed confirm this. Over this period we have really come to a sharp watershed, to the peak of all the processes, and, unfortunately to the process of the bogging down of this perestroyka. Its most difficult and responsible stage has arrived. I think that at this precise moment particularly great importance is being acquired by such a factor as confidence in the whole crew of the ship of state and in the correctness of the course that has been mapped out. This confidence is just as necessary as a sense of comradeship, harmony, and devotion to work.

Just as I have done before, I now see my civic duty—I stress that I see my civic duty—in this difficult period for the country to share responsiblity with the country's political and state leadership for those very important decisions which were elaborated by the eminent congress. I see it as my task, as far as I am able, to promote the victory of the new policy, to support in every way the policy of the president acting in the interests of all democratic and patriotic forces of our society.

No matter how grave and dangerous the state of affairs in the country, we do have the possibility of mastering the situation—of this I am convinced, profoundly convinced. But in order to do this, in order for the situation to become controllable again, the president's anti-crisis program must be fully implemented. In the event that you elect me in the capacity of vice president, and endorse the USSR president's proposal, I think I should see my main task as being to concentrate upon persistent work to stabilize the situation in the economy, in the country's national economy, and upon strict adherence to the course toward economic freedom and diversity of forms of ownership, and toward changing over to market relations, while ensuring—I want to lay particular stress on this, this is not something I am saying today out of opportunistic motives—I stress that in changing over to market relations I attach major importance to drawing up a program for social protection both of the able-bodied population and especially of low-income families. I proceed from the fact that in a country with a population of 300 million we do not have the right to pursue unpredictable, convulsive policies.

Just look, esteemed comrades, what sort of social resources we have during the changeover to the market: 70 million people live either below or near the poverty line. If we apply some sort of shock option in changing over to the market, this will mean that in the very first year tens of millions will be unemployed. Can we allow in our country such an irresponsible policy that would engender the emergence of social dynamite of nearly 100 million people, that could blow up society?

Further, I see my task as being in promoting the elimination of tension in interethnic relations, and in renewing and preserving by democratic means—by democratic means, I stress—on the principles of voluntary union, the priority of the rights of the individual wherever he may live, and recognition of the inalienable right to self-determination and self-government of each people. [stir in the hall] Finally, I see my task to be promoting the reformation and strengthening of the existing structures of Soviet power; the restoration and respect for the Constitution, the law, and state institutions, especially the Army, the law enforcement bodies; the affirmation of labor discipline and legality and order; and the maintenance and development of Soviet science and culture, enhancement of their status and role in society and in the state; and further consolidation of our country's international positions.

I consider the priority task to be that of consolidating all sociopolitical forces on the platform of the president's anti-crisis program and the decisions of this high congress. It is here that I see the key which will open up the way to future for us. Only by rallying together the maximum number of champions of perestroyka in all social strata, and on various political levels of our society, will it be possible to overcome the blockages that have formed and confidently to move forward.

In respect both of politics and of morality, we have all come to a borderline where the search for accord and civil peace has become the imperative in every sphere of our life today. As a member of the party and a representative of its leadership, I profoundly feel the need to take a personal part in consolidating all sociopolitical trends which support the socialist choice, and I shall assist in every way the achievement of this goal, the formation of a consensus in our society.

And finally, something profoundly personal: After my conversation with the country's president, after—I shall not conceal it—agonizing reflections about the proposals he made, I cannot say that I spent a sleepless night and during this sleepless night dreamt a marvellous dream. I had no dreams, but I did indeed have a hard night, because I had to make a choice. My political choice I made six years ago; I do not intend to repudiate it, and I therefore want to say to you, as Davydov said in "Virgin Soil Upturned": You choose; that is your right. I will plough at night by lamplight, and I will plough a desyatina [equivalent to 2.7 acres] and a quarter. Thank you.

Answers Deputies' Questions

LD2712001590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1929 GMT 26 Dec90

[Remarks by vice presidential candidate Gennadiy Yanayev at the Fourth Congress of USSR People's

Deputies in the Kremlin, Moscow, in reply to questions from deputies on 26 December—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Yanayev] When at the 28th Party Congress—you know that in that period the party was not experiencing the most easy period, excuse me for a certain tautology, at that time the party was not experiencing the most easy period. And I knew, even at that time, that beside me in the Union, there was working a whole galaxy of talented, clever, interesting, young people whom I was simply holding back. By conviction I am a Communist; there is nothing you can do about it; I am a Communist to the depths of my soul, and if I was needed by the party, then I reluctantly said that I would give up interesting work, I would give up interesting friends, interesting people, but I must go there, because the ship at the time was not just riding out a storm—the ship had sprung a leak somewhat. I will not say that I came to the party as a messiah who saved the party. I came as a rank and file party worker, and I am glad that I came to party work. [passage omitted]

[Deputy Andreyev] Gennadiy Ivanovich, you mentioned political chaos in the country and the need to establish respect for the Constitution. Tell me please, what means and methods do you propose to use to fight for respect for the Constitution and against political chaos in the country? That is the first question.

[Yanayev] I think that I have to fight against the political bacchanalia and political nihilism that is going on in the contry with legal and democatic methods, by awakening in citizens respect for the law. That is the main thing. No repressions—if anyone wants to accuse me right now that Gorbachev is buying a pig in a poke in order with its help, you know, to introduce some kind of draconian order, this is all nonsense. Gorbachev and I, I think, if he agrees, have on the whole one common psychological feature: violence is unacceptable to both him and me. [passage omitted]

Yanayev Termed 'Gorbachev's Christmas Surprise'

LD2612184190 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT 26 Dec 90

[By TASS World Service legislative analyst Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—In a surprise move, President Mikhail Gorbachev nominated Gennadiy Yanayev as his new vice presidential candidate today.

The unexpected choice flabbergasted reporters and depressed "democrats" already crestfallen following last week's sensational resignation of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Lawmakers, analysts and journalists were caught completely unawares and had difficulty swallowing the bombshell news, which one reporter dubbed "Gorbachev's Christmas surprise".

Republican leaders, attending the congress, were reticent.

Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev, dogged by the press throughout the congress, was laconic: "Yes, I will support him. No, I will not comment on his merits. Excuse me, I have to go now".

Tengiz Buachdze, representing Georgia in the congress's Presidium, was also brief. "We will support him. Why? We like him," he said.

Russian Information Minister Mikhail Poltoranin, answering questions instead of Boris Yeltsin, who did not attend, was more outspoken. It would have been hard to find a worse candidate, but "Gennadiy Yanayev stands a chance to be elected by the current congress", he said.

The latest rumour at the congress has it that Yanayev's nomination was discussed at today's meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Politburo. Gorbachev's aide Nikolay Petrakov said this was unlikely. "after all, Gorbachev is Soviet Communist Party General Secretary, and he spent all day in the hall and was away only 15-20 minutes," he said.

Analysts are now speculating about Yanayev's chances for election. He needs a simple majority at the congress to become the vice president. The inter-regional group of deputies (229 members according to registration data), who call themselves democrats said it will vote against. However, democrats were divided about Yanayev's chances—"we can sink his chances," said Yuriy Chernichenko, while Aleksandr Zhuravlev said: "he will certainly make it."

Yuri Blokhin, leader of the Soyuz pro-Union group, numbering 561 members, said "we will study the question—this is a serious candidate".

However, analysts said Soyuz most likely will support Yanayev, if only to contradict the interregional group.

As for the support of the Communist block (730 members), Yanayev, its leader, is assured of it.

People's Congress 26 Dec Proceedings Detailed

LD2612180990

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 26 December begins carrying a recording of the proceedings of the fourth Congress of USSR people's Deputies at the Kremlin in Moscow on 26 December.

At 1600 GMT Lukyanov asks deputies to register; he has a quorum. He invites Gorbachev to take the floor.

At 1601 GMT Gorbachev reports on a meeting of national and republican leaders yesterday on an economic agreement for next year. Food supplies were also discussed at the meeting. He also informs deputies of Ryzhkov's heart attack.

At 1606 GMT Lukyanov hands the floor to Kryuchkov, deputy head of secretariat. Kryuchkov says that the secretariat supports the need to make better use of time of the congress for decisionmaking. He calls for more constructive work in order that business may be completed on time. A number of requests have come in from deputies that time should not be wasted in the discussion of unimportant topics. There has been pressure from foreign agencies on the work of the congress and contact with the INTERFAX agency, he states. The secretariat has heard an appeal from Deputy Kolokolnikov and others about matters on the agenda regarding economic reform, deputies' ethnics, including television appearances, deputies' privileges, and foreign travel. He also refers to items received in the mail on the congress proceedings, reaction from all over the country, most of which expresses satisfaction with the decisions of the congress. There have been doubts, though, about the need to hold a referendum on the subject of a Union treaty. He refers to press comment on remarks made by Yeltsin. There has been a lot of comment on the country's economic situation and the secretariat has sent a summary of all this to the Council of Ministers for their examination, he says. Kryuchkov reiterates the need for constructive work.

At 1616 GMT, Lukyanov invites the participants to put questions to Kryuchkov. Some of the deputies, including Yerokhin, make comments of a procedural nature. Another makes a remark on behalf of the committee on benefits and privileges. A deputy from Azerbaijan protests to the secretariat about the publication of material which exacerbated the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

At 1621 GMT, a deputy from Alma-Ata refers to a number of campaigns, including one for housing construction and the anti-alcohol drive, which have been put into operation under perestroyka but have had no impact.

At 1623 GMT Lukyanov reminds deputies of an appeal by a group of deputies from Moscow Oblast calling for an elucidation of facts regarding the harassment of servicemen deployed in Latvia.

At 1624 GMT Deputy Bisher, first deputy chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers, replies to this appeal:

"Esteemed people's deputies, in connection with your appeal, I should state the following. After the newly elected Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Republic adopted, on 4 May 1990, a declaration on the restoration of Latvian state independence, conservative and totalitarian forces both inside and outside Latvia have been making every effort to abolish the constitutionally formed structures of state power and administration of the Latvian Republic and get the levers of power back into their own hands. To achieve this, special committees of national salvation, who are demanding the dissolution of the legislature and government and the declaration of a state of emergency and the imposition of presidential rule, have been set up. In order to prepare public opinion for this, a number of provocations have now been committed in the republic, and a lively propaganda campaign about the situation in the republic has been organized. Passions are being incited and unobjective information about the situation in the republic is being spread. Rumors about the infringement of the civil rights of the Russian population and military servicemen are being particularly intensified. Certain organs of the Moscow media have joined actively in this campaign, and central television, which recently sent its military correspondent Leshchinskiy to Riga, has been especially zealous in this connection, clearly assuming that his Afghan experience could be most useful in Latvia. Unfortunately, an article in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, a newspaper which we up to now considered to be a serious and objective paper, also joined in this torrent of disinformation."

Bisher goes on to refute allegations about discrimination against Russian children and servicemen then says:

"In conclusion, I would like to say that the Latvian Government does not seek a confrontation with the USSR Armed Forces. It has several times suggested to the USSR leadership that all questions connected with the stay of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the republic be settled by way of talks. In these talks we are prepared to examine all problems of interest to the military leadership and to find mutual solutions. At the same time, we consider it our duty to defend the vital interests of the Latvian people, even in those instances where they do not coincide with the interests of the Armed Forces. Please permit me to pass this on to the congress presidium."

At 1632 GMT Lukyanov asks deputies if they are satisfied with Bisher's remarks and they indicate that they are not.

At 1633 GMT Deputy Katorgin criticizes certain aspects of Bisher's report, particularly regarding the transportation of children to school, and proposes that a commission of two or three deputies be sent to the republic and report back to the congress. Deputy Shamikhin expands on Katorgin's remarks.

At 1635 GMT Lukyanov supports the proposal to send a group frm the interethnic committee to Latvia to report on the situation there. This is greeted with objections from the hall. Deputy Vorobyev gives his own reasons for disagreeing with this proposal. Lukyanov hands the floor to Kogan who also disagrees with the proposals. Deputy Ivanov, commander of the Baltic fleet, says he completely dissociates himself from Bisher's comments. He says Russian children are being virtually thrown out of the schools there, and Molotov cocktails have been thrown at Russian servicemen.

At 1640 Lukyanov proposes ending the debate, but an unidentified deputy takes the floor to cite a further

example of discrimination against a Russian serviceman's family. He supports the proposal to send a commission there. Lukyanov ends the debate on this topic, and returns to the agenda. He says:

"Yesterday, together with the Secretariat of the congress, we analyzed very closely what needs to be done to examine all questions on the congress agenda in the timescale we have stipulated. We came to the conclusion that, with precise organized work, it would be possible to end the congress on the 27th, but only with a definite organization of work. In order to achieve this, we must concentrate our attention on the main issues. We must confine to a minimum the debates on procedures, quarrels, and disputes regarding narrow-group interests. In a word, we must be more constructive, precise, specific, and orderly in our work. And then I believe we shall fulfill all that we have planned. And let us agree on one thing: Today we are aiming—as agreed—to work up to 2000, and I would like deputies to focus on this, so that tomorrow morning at 0900 [0600 GMT] we can carry out a secret ballot on rotation. Today, I do ask you to pay close regard to completing work on the draft constitution because we have covered the main questions."

Lukyanov then calls on Kudryavtsev, deputy chairman of the Drafting Commission, to report on Article 120, which he does briefly.

At 1645 GMT Lukyanov asks deputies to re-register. There are 1,878 deputies present. Deputy Ismailov proposes that the article be left as it is. Deputy Shapovalenko comments on this.

At 1649 GMT Lukyanov asks deputies to vote on the first paragraph of Point 20; it is not passed. He then asks deputies to vote on the whole of Point 20; it is also not passed. The commission is asked to review this article. Lukyanov passes on to Point 21 of the article, which is adopted. Shapovalenko complains that certain other articles have not been passed. Lukyanov puts Point 22 to the vote; it is endorsed with new wording. Other deputies make further minor comments on various points. At 1655 GMT Lukyanov puts an amendment by Deputy Almydov to the vote; it is not passed.

Deputy Bolbasov proposes an amendment to the wording of Article 132 on research program. A member of the commission comments on this and the amendment is then put to the vote, but it is not passed.

At 1659 GMT Deputy Chabanov comments on defense industry enterprises. Chabanov calls for work to be speeded up, and for the commission's proposals to be relied on.

At 1705 GMT Academician Yanshin introduces himself as one of the oldest people's deputies, at 80. He proposes an amendment to the point under discussion in connection with natural resources: there should be a clear distinction between types of natural resources, since mushrooms are a natural resource, after all, and, as the article stands, they come under the same category as oil and other mineral resources. The amendment is put to a vote.

At 1708 GMT Deputy Gubarev raises question on the first paragraph of Article 132, dealing with finance and credit policy. Deputy Smirnov and other deputies express views on the same issue. A vote is taken on Gubarev's amendment, which is rejected.

At 1713 GMT Deputy Glazkov suggests an amendment relating to labor welfare; Lukyanov says this is covered by previous points. Deputy Kolesnikov quibbles over wording relating to epidemics, and suggests more modern language for health care.

At 1716 GMT Lukyanov calls for a vote on ending discussion of the article; this is adopted. In regard to Points 24, 25, 26, and 27, only a change of wording is required; namely, cabinet of ministers for Council of Ministers. A vote is taken and the proposal is adopted. Wording of Point 28 of Article 145 is now voted on and adopted. Point 29 is discussed.

At 1720 GMT Deputies (?Dzhafarov) and Tsyplayev suggest alternative wording for Article 145, relating to local government and proposals submitted to commission. An unidentified deputy objects. The amendment is rejected. Article 145 goes through unchanged.

At 1724 GMT Gorbachev makes a brief intervention to elucidate the situation on self-government and procedure.

At 1725 GMT Lukyanov explains the amendment to Article 149. Deputies Zelinskiy and Tsyplayev raise points on local government and the powers of executive committees. A spokesman for the commission says these points were examined and rejected. Point 30 is put to a vote worded as proposed by the commission; it is adopted.

At 1731 GMT Deputy Travkin raises a point on Article 149. Point 31 is discussed and adopted. The commission spokesman suggests voting on Points 32-36 as a block. Only two points are left, 20 and 29, to be examined by the commission during the break. Deputy Kozyrev demands the floor and proposes different wording for Article 34 over privileges for various categories of citizens; Lukyanov recommends that this should be looked at in commission.

At 1739 GMT Lukyanov announces a 30-minute break and the recording continues. Academician Goldanskiy reads out a telegram of good wishes to Ryzhkov, greeted with applause. Academician Kudryavtsev raises a point on Article 34 of the USSR Constitution on privileges for citizens: the amendment is adopted.

At 1742 GMT Kudryavtsev goes on to Point 20 of Article 129, regarding the wording relating to the cabinet of ministers. Gorbachev asks for clarification over the number of deputy chairmen. Lukyanov calls for vote; Point 20 is adopted.

At 1745 GMT amendments to Article 145 are proposed. Point 29 is adopted in new wording. Kudryavtsev proposes the commission's suggestion on omitting preamble: A vote is taken, and the suggestion is rejected. Deputy Yusupov calls on all deputies to vote, saying that otherwise the exercise is pointless. He expresses concern on behalf of the congress over the illness of Ryzhkov, and goes on to appeal for better treatment for people in general.

At 1750 GMT Deputy Osipov raises a question on Point 18 of Article 108 regarding the powers of the cabinet of ministers. The commission spokesman explains. A repeat vote on the article is called. Further amendments are proposed. A deputy raises a point on Article 73, and proposes that a commission should draft amendments to this. Lukyanov asks for a vote to consider the discussion ended.

At 1756 GMT Lukyanov calls for a vote on the draft law on amendments to the USSR Constitution. Deputy Golik proposes amendments to Articles 1 and 4. Deputy Kim proposes amendments to an article. Deputy Pavlov asks for clarifications, and Deputy Shapovalenko asks Lukyanov about guarantees against privileges. At 1802 GMT a deputy asks that the law as a whole should be put to a vote by name. The proposals are rejected.

At 1805 GMT Deputy Nazarenko proposes amendments to Article 4 regarding the Security Council which should be defined in law. Clarifications are given about why the law is not required. Deputy Stadnik proposes amendments regarding time limits for Supreme Soviet sessions and quorum. Lukyanov says these proposals will be incorporated into standing orders.

At 1811 GMT Deputy Murashev reminds the audience that after voting by articles the draft should be voted on as a whole, in accordance with standing orders. Gorbachev intervenes rejecting the idea; he says that agreement has been reached on the subject.

At 1813 GMT Deputy Laptev makes a report on rotation of the Supreme Soviet's composition, giving details concerning specific numbers and individual deputies.

At 1842 GMT Lukyanov asks if there are any questions. Deputy Leontyev makes a correction regarding his constituency. A deputy suggests a list be published of those who fail to appear at the session. A deputy from Estonia makes proposals concerning rotation. Lukyanov registers the Fatherland group, the group For Radical Military Reform, the group For National Health Care, and the group Knowledge. A break is announced.

At 1858 GMT the evening session begins. After registration, Lukyanov says the post of vice president is to be discussed. The issue of electing the USSR vice president is to be included in the agenda; a vote is held and the proposal is adopted.

At 1859 GMT Gorbachev takes the floor and, in a five-minute speech, proposes Yananyev for vice president. Applause follows. Gorbachev then answers questions for 14 minutes.

At 1919 GMT Yanayev addresses the congress on his candidacy for vice president.

At 1929 GMT Lukyanov invites questions for Yanayev. Deputy Shushkevich asks about the theme of Yanayev's dissertation, which turns out to be Trotskiyism. Deputy (?Shikochikhin) asks about Yanayev's past party history. Deputy Chelyshev asks how far Yanayev backs the president's position: Yanayev says he has been a firm Gorbachev supporter. Another deputy asks whether a vice president should be a good economist like Nazarbayev rather than a party man. Yanayev says he is very glad to be a party man.

At 1936 GMT Deputy Andreyev asks what methods Yanayev intends to use to combat political chaos in the country. Yanayev says that he will fight political nihilism by enforcing law and order. It is absurd to suggest Gorbachev has ideas of invoking draconian laws, he asserts.

At 1939 GMT a deputy asks about the amount of work involved in the post of vice president, combining this with party duties. Yanayev says the party will decide on his duties as a party functionary. Deputy Pavlov asks what role Yanayev will play in regard to the president. Yanayev says he wants to serve the country and its people, and not merely by an adjunct to the president. Deputy Kravchenko refers to Yanayev's quotation from "Virgin Soil Upturned." Another deputy asks about Yanyayev's work in the Komsomol: Yanayev describes it.

At 1944 GMT a deputy asks Yanayev to examine the women's question. Yanayev thanks her for the suggestion and says he will certainly examine the women's question if his wife does not object. Laughter in the hall.

At 1946 GMT Deputy Kurtashin expresses support for Yanayev's candidacy, as does Allamuradov. Deputy Kapitsa says deputies should not insult Gorbachev's intelligence and should let Gorbachev himself choose his team. He goes on to heap praise upon Yanayev. Deputy Romanenko says Yanayev's nomination was a surprise for the congress; but a trade union professional is what is needed today.

At 1952 GMT Deputy Shalayev gives a character reference for Yanayev and his work in the trade unions. Deputy Khadzhiyev says there must be a labor market and the shops must be filled with goods, and no one man is ever going to manage that; he will vote against Yanayev, not from personal motives, but because he doubts even Gorbachev's ability to cope.

At 1956 GMT Deputy Abakirov calls for consolidation and support for the president, saying this is the congress' duty. Deputy Karimov says that Gorbachev is today

being given what is perhaps his last chance to get the country out of crisis, and he must choose his own team.

At 2001 GMT Deputy Tereshkova cals for support for Gorbachev's choice. Deputy Baranovskiy praises Yanayev's handling of affairs involving the Crimean Tatars. Comrade Sazonov says Gorbachev should be allowed to form his own cabinet, as a matter of principle; he backs Yanayev as man and politician.

At 2008 GMT Lukyanov explains the process for election of Yanayev. The tellers' commission is discussed and agreed on. The commission gets down to work.

At 2013 GMT Lukyanov says the next item will be the rotation of USSR Supreme Soviet membership. Lukyanov puts forward a proposal concerning a list of deputies who have applied to withdraw from the Supreme Soviet; the proposal is passed. Lukyanov expresses his thanks to the departing deputies. Stepanov of the Karelian delegation is to go.

At 2028 GMT Kucherenko of the Planning and Budget Commission speaks up for Stepanov, and says the commission and Supreme Soviet cannot afford to lose him. The deputies vote on whether to release Stepanov at his own request, and the proposal is passed.

At 2030 GMT the continued membership of Deputies Stoumova and Gutskalov is discussed and it is agreed that they may remain as deputies.

Further debate follows about Piryazeva and other deputies. Yarin's withdrawal is discussed next; Deputy Medvedev speaks up for him, as do Deputies Gracheva and Panchenico. Kostishin is discussed next. Deputy Gudilina has reservations about the way the rotation system is being treated by congress. Lukyanov says the Moldavian delegation met on 30 November and Grossu was dropped from the Supreme Soviet. Palagnyuk wants to leave the Supreme Soviet. This is passed. Engver's departure is discussed next. Altogether, there will be a vote on eight candidacies.

At 2129 GMT Academician Gulyayev explains the voting system. The deputies vote on whether to use the electronic voting system; the proposal is passed. The result of the vote is that Stoumova stays in the Supreme Soviet; Gutskalov is out; Piryazeva, Yarin, and Kostishin stay; Genchev and Engver are out.

At 2145 GMT a fresh vote confirms the secret vote.

At 2148 GMT Lukyanov says we can carry on putting forward nominations now, or extend the congress. Primakov suggests that a vote should be taken on the existing lists. Lukyanov proposes that the present session be continued, and asks for a vote on Primakov's suggestion; the proposal is passed.

At 2158 GMT Lukyanov reads out amendments to the lists republic by republic. The lists are put to the vote and passed. There is a discussion on whether to include extra names nominated by individual members. An Estonian deputy makes a point about her delegation; Lukyanov says we should stop making proposals for further amendments. The congress votes to stop further amendments. Deputy Kogan objects to the way the issue has been conducted. Deputy Medvedev says that the vote on vice president should be conducted tomorrow because there is only just a quorum now. Deputy Pupkevich joins the discussion. Lukyanov says the list has already been voted on; he asks for a vote on whether to end the debate and confirm the list. It is decided to carry out the vote at 0900 tomorrow morning.

At 2235 GMT Academician Osipyan for the tellers' commission says there will be two separate votes: one for Yanayev, and one for the candidates being rotated. The vote will take two hours, and the session proper will start at 1100. The recording then concludes.

Deputy on 'Discrimination' Against Baltic Troops

LD2612140190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Speech by USSR People's Deputy Ivanov in response to Deputy Bisher's statements on Latvia and Baltic fleet "discrimination" at the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin on 26 December—recorded]

[Text] What citizen Bisher said from this podium is completely untrue. The Baltic fleet is based on the territory of the three Baltic republics. All the acts of discrimination are being committed, first of all, against the servicemen of the Baltic Navy, the soldiers and officers of the Red Banner Baltic Military District.

Specifically in Latvia, decisions have practically been made for cutting off the electricity, water, heating, and food supplies to the military units. More than 1,000 servicemen are not being issued residential permits in the Tallinn garrison. More than 300 servicemen are not being issued with residential permits in Latvia, specifically in Riga. The servicemen are requested to pay 600-700 rubles for food, more precisely, for school education. Our children are practically being evicted from schools.

I announced at the Defense Ministry meeting that the extremists are creating situations in which the servicemen may be forced to use weapons at certain moments to defend their families, to defend their children. Comrades, what can we do when the groups dare to throw stones at our officers' little children, causing them grievious injuries. How can we regard this calmly when bottles with explosives are being thrown from passing cars at the weapons and ammunition depots, when they shoot from passing cars at our guards. These are all our children, the children against whom the weapons are being used, and after this we are still asking why the servicemen are dying in the Armed Forces. They die because thousands of the militarized groups armed with weapons and ammunition have been created in Baltic

republics. I categorically protest the statement of citizen Bisher and consider it wrong.

Gorbachev, Pavlov Discuss Budget at Congress

LD2712105390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0900 GMT on 27 December carries a six-minute report from the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies by legislative correspondent Yuriy Korotkov. Korotkov outlines the items on the congress agenda today, include a secret ballot to elect a vice president, the reconvening of the Supreme Soviet, and election of the USSR general procurator and chief arbitrator. Korotkov says that among those who have spoken are General Boris Gromov, who reminded the congress that today is the 11th anniversary of the introduction of Soviet troops to Afghanistan. He proposed one minute of silence to commemorate the fallen. Other speakers included USSR Finance Minister Valentin Pavlov. Referring to Pavlov's speech, and Gorbachev's subsequent comment on it, Korotkov says:

"Then, USSR Finance Minister Pavlov came to the rostrum. He spoke of the country's difficult financial situation, which is aggravated by the fact that national income is falling. In these conditions, Pavlov said, the creation of a stabilization fund and a sales tax is necessary. But it has proved impossible to reach agreement on the distribution of revenues between the Union republics. In particular, it had proved impossible to attain agreement with the Russian Federation, which considers that everything produced on its territory belongs to Russia. Incidentally, yesterday the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet—and I think that it was precisely for this reason that a heated debate flared up after Pavlov's speech—adopted a draft law on the state budget for 1991 where there are figures to the effect that next year 29 billion rubles will be allocated from the republican budget for financing Union programs, instead of 119 billion rubles which are being allocated this year. You understand that this is less. Hence, the underfinancing of all-Union programs and, as a result, relations with and the stability of other republics are disrupted, and a price war and retail price increases are being observed, as Pavlov said.

"Then, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, USSR president, spoke. He expressed his attitude on this problem. In his view, other republics will suffer as a result of this decision by Russia on its state budget. Everything is disrupted. Disintegration not only of the economy but of the Union is taking place. Republics lose their income and are forced to increase prices for raw materials and retail prices. It is a catastrophe, a misery. Where, indeed, is the money to finance public education, health, culture, geological prospecting work, defense and other programs to be found. In Gorbachev's view, the force of the law adopted by the Russian parliament should have been suspended. This is not merely a war of laws. It is more. It is the disintegration of the Union, I will stress again, of our economy.

"In this regard, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev proposed that the congress adopt a resolution of the Congress of People's Deputies on this issue in which, in particular, the president is instructed in the near future to issue a decree on the creation and utilization of extra-budgetary [vnebyudzhetnyy] funds for the stabilization of the economy, and in which the country's Supreme Soviet is instructed to discuss and adopt the country's state budget for 1991 by 10 January.

"Then Deputy Bondarenko, of left-bank [East] Ukraine spoke against the decision of the Russian legislature. Then, Deputy Romanov of the independent trade unions spoke, and said that it is impermissible; one must not interfere in the affairs of the Russian legislature; one must not condemn its decisions; one must not compromise the Russian legislature before the whole country, in order to exert such pressure on the Russian Supreme Soviet.

"Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov proposed putting this issue to a vote. By a majority of votes it was decided not to start a discussion of this issue. At present, a debate in progress on that resolution, on the draft resolution which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev proposed. So, as you can see, this discussion, this problem, is getting a new twist and I think it is going to be a hot day."

Gorbachev on Results of Economic Agreement Meeting

LD2612115890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Video report by correspondent A. Gerasimov, including remarks by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, on the morning session of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow on 26 December; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Gerasimov] The morning session of the ninth day of the congress opened with a speech by the country's president. He reported to the people's deputies on the results of the conference of leaders of Union republics and of the country held yesterday, at which an economic agreement for next year was discussed.

[Gorbachev] Well, first of all, I would like to say that the discussion passed in a constructive, businesslike atmosphere, even though it was not without sharp polemics as well. As a result, we have agreed on all the points of an agreement on matters of food and supplies for 1991. This is a big program of action—one singled out specially—which includes everything that must be done in the country's agrarian sector, what must be done in the other industries of the economy in order to fulfill orders of the rural areas so that they can implement them, and ensure production and delivery of produce in the volumes that we have figured on, taking as the premise that food supply should be no lower by volume than that of the

current year, and with some kind of favorable combination of circumstances and the fact that we have it in mind to implement a whole set of measures on land relations and on stepping up material incentives for the workers of the agrarian sector, perhaps we will even manage to attain other results. At any rate, we take that as our premise, as a minimum.

Well, of course, there is... [Gorbachev changes thought] a set of issues connected with implementation of measures for economic reform in rural areas, to implement the social program, is also envisaged. At any rate, a decision has been adopted. This is the only sector for 1991 to preserve the state order for resources, with the wishes of the agrarian workers, as expressed, but it must be said plainly that the volume of work is immense, this is something we all have to do, the whole country. But nevertheless, all this has been agreed, and the deliveries to the all-Union stocks have been agreed, it has been agreed in the main, they will make it more precise today, but in principle one can say, and we agreed on this, that I would speak about this in just this way. Interrepublican deliveries, and there was a common view, alongside this, all the same, the discipline and responsibility of everyone for fulfilling these very important orders must be different. So one can say that this work has been completed, and now we must act to implement everything that has been agreed on.

As regards the economic agreement for 1991 as a whole, the greater part of issues has been agreed, and first and foremost that which concerns economic ties and responsibility for these economic ties. It was ascertained yesterday that the conclusion of contracts has reached something like a level of 77—that's right, isn't it, Nikolay Ivanovich? [not further identified]—77 percent. But there are still bottlenecks in this matter, which were also examined, but I must say that there was a very serious situation, and it took up most of the time, virtually the greater part, perhaps, of the more than four hours that were devoted to examination of these problems, and that is the problem of the budget, the country's financial situation, and measures on this score. Here, in the final analysis, following sharp debate, everyone arrived at a common view that a group must be formed which, on the basis of accords at the conference, would complete this work. It was formed under the leadership of Finance Minister Pavlov, such as was the common wish, and with the participation of all representatives of the republics, in order to complete this, too, in two days. There remained, in fact, one point, but it is one such that without this point, there is no agreement. So here is what I said: My conviction is that an agreement will be prepared during these two days. And we will report the results to you. True, you are probably expecting to finish by that time, but I think that we, too, by our joint efforts, will complete it by that time. That is the information in brief, now you know.

Now I have to inform you—so that you can get the news from me—of a very grave event: Nikolay Ivanovich [Ryzhkov] last night had a heart attack, an infarction. He is in the hospital. At the moment his life is not in danger, but it is that sort of situation. Let us wish him a speedy recovery. It is a great pity.

[Gerasimov] Kryuchkov, the deputy head of the congress' Secretariat, who spoke after that informed the deputies about the ways their requests and appeals are being dealt with, called on the congress to work constructively, and expressed support for the appeal by a group of deputies not to lose time discussing topics not connected with the agenda. The congress plans to finish its work tomorrow.

Deputy Bisher took the floor next. He answered the appeal by a group of deputies to the leadership of the Latvian Republic on the inadmissibility of the harassment of the servicemen posted on the Latvian territory. Bisher accused some media reporting on the events in the republic of not being objective. He rejected the existing rumors and provided explanations on concrete facts. He stated that the Latvian Government does not seek confrontation with the Ministry of Defense and is ready to conduct negotiations on the military detachements staying on the republics' territory.

Deputies Ivanov, Akhromeyev, and Kogan expressed disagreement with the Latvian Supreme Soviet deputy chairman's version on the attitude toward servicemen. The Secretariat was instructed to prepare a document reflecting the congress' point of view on the events in the republic. After that the congress continued the article-by-article discussion of the law on the changes and additions to the USSR Constitution.

Republic Leaders Agree on Economic Cooperation

LD2612084690 Moscow TASS in English 0803 GMT 26 Dec 90

[By TASS legislative correspondent]

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev said that at their conference on Tuesday [25 Dec], the leaders of republics and the country had succeeded in reaching agreement on overriding issues of economic cooperation in 1991.

This conference was held on the demand of many deputies who are worried about the uncertainty of economic ties next year.

Delivering a brief report to the Fourth Soviet Congress of People's Deputies today, Gorbachev said that all points of an agreement on food supply of the population were harmonised. He said that in its volume it would be not lower than the 1990 level.

As for the economic agreement for 1991 as a whole, Gorbachev said that most of the issues had been coordinated. The volume of the concluded economic agreements reached 77 per cent of the required level.

Gorbachev said the discussion of the 1991 budget appeared to be the most difficult job. Work has not been

completed here but, in Gorbachev's view, there is a chance to resolve all issues within two days.

Gorbachev Says Ryzhkov 'Serious' But 'Not Worse'

LD2712105590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1022 GMT 27 Dec 90

[By TASS legislative correspondent from the Kremlin]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 27 Dec (TASS)—Nikolay Ryzhkov's state of health is "serious but has not gotten worse," Mikhail Gorbachev, the country's president, reported today at the morning session of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies. [passage omitted]

The USSR president said that the most competent specialists who "are involved in that work around the clock" have been drawn in to treat Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Mikhail Gorbachev said further that yesterday he talked to Nikolay Ryzhkov. To the question of what course the illness is taking, he added that the doctors are saying: "It corresponds with the gravity of the illness."

Congress Adopts Presidential Powers Amendments

LD2612112790 Moscow TASS in English 1119 GMT 26 Dec 90

[By TASS legislative correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—The Fourth Soviet Congress of People's Deputies today passed a law on amendments to the Constitution, intended to pave the way for moves to seal the presidential form of executive power.

From now on, a Cabinet of Ministers is subordinated to the Soviet president. The new institution in the country's structure of power performs executive and administrative functions to manage those spheres of the life of the state which the republics have delegated to the USSR's jurisdiction.

The Cabinet replaces the Council of Ministers and is accountable to the Soviet president and parliament. The post of a vice- president has also been instituted. A vice president, on a commission from the president, will exercise some presidential powers and will deputise for president in the even of his absence.

The large volume of the bill, which consists of 36 points, required painstaking work by people's deputies for two days.

After a keen debate the congress threw out a number of provisions suggested by the Drafting Commission, such as, in particular, an article proclaiming the setting up of a supreme state inspectorate to monitor the implementation of the laws of the USSR and other Union acts, including presidential decrees. The law took immediate effect.

Deputies View State Power Structure Changes

LD2612164490 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 26 Dec 90

[By TASS legislative correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—The importance of changes in the structure of Soviet state power, adopted today by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, was stressed by several deputies, who took the floor at a press conference held during an interval in the work of the session. They commented on the approved bill "on amendments and supplements to the USSR Constitution for streamlining the system of state administration".

Member of the Supreme Soviet Legal Committee Vladimir Kudryavtsev noted, for instance, that the legislative arm had proved its efficiency in the USSR. But executive power "definitely has to be reformed", he emphasised. Kudryavtsev disagreed with the claim that current reforms would lead to the consolidation of the adminstrative-command system. He believes that amendments related to the federation council were intended to turn it from an advisory body into a decisive organ.

According to Vladislav Ardzimba, member of the Nationalities Policy and Inter-Ethnic Relations Commission of the Council of Nationalities, the new federation council will help relax tension in various regions of the country.

However, the press conference participants could not give exhaustive answers to numerous questions about how the new power structures will function. Ardzimba admitted, for instance, that "the painful search for new structures in the Union" is not over yet and "the present proposals are an attempt to find an acceptable solution without harming the interests of the Union and the republics+.

"It is difficult to say how the federation council will operate before the law is adopted. It will regulate everything," he added. Chairman of the parliamentary legal committee Yuri Kalmykov said it is desirable to determine "the legal status of all these new executive bodies" right after the congress.

Journalists asked about the vice-presidency, but the answers were far from exhaustive.

"The functions of the vice-president are yet unclear", Kudryavtsev said. He concluded by saying that the vice-president will be "the president's deputy".

Congress Discusses Supreme Soviet Rotations

LD2612135590 Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Excerpt] The Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR has begun renewing part of the Supreme Soviet of the country. The chairman of the Soviet of the Union,

one of the two houses of parliament, Ivan Laptev said rotation will enhance the business potential of parliament and bring in fresh forces.

Under the Constitution, up to one-fifth of the Supreme Soviet is to be rotated; that is 108 seats. One hundred and eighty-three deputies have already said they are leaving it.

A list of candidates has been presented to the congress which was drawn up in accordance with the requests of the delegations from the territories. If, through secret ballot, the list is approved in the main, the new Supreme Soviet will be different from the current one. It will have more young deputies and representatives of the workers. On the other hand, there will be less women and agrarians.

The rotation of the USSR Supreme Soviet is the last major issue on the agenda of the congress. [passage omitted]

Laptev Speaks on Rotation

LD2612175690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 26 Dec 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] [passage omitted] The Congress [of USSR People's Deputies] discussed renewal or rotation in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Deputy Laptev, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the Country's Supreme Soviet, spoke to the deputies. He said:

[Begin Laptev recording] The commission for preparing the fourth congress has instructed me to report to you on the forthcoming renewal or rotation in the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This task is entirely new to all of us. In effect, today we have to set a precedent in the practice of the formation and activities of the supreme bodies of state power in the USSR. It is quite natural that many issues connected with the problem of rotation look unusual. As agreed, no later than two days prior to the consideration of this question—and in practice much earlier—the congress Secretariat submitted to you the lists of both the deputies leaving the Supreme Soviet and those recommended for election to the Supreme Soviet. Here are these lists. They contain not just a list of names, but also information on the approaches and the principles and nature of carrying out the rotation—and that, of course, makes my task as well as yours much easier. That is why I would like mainly to touch on some legal points, in accordance with which this work should be based.

Let me remind you, comrade deputies, that the rotation in the Supreme Soviet is being implemented on the basis of Article 111 of the USSR Constitution and a number of articles of our standing orders. It is recorded in the standing orders that proposals with regard to those leaving the Supreme Soviet in connection with its renewal and also those people's deputies to be elected to it are elaborated in advance at meetings of territorial groups of deputies. That is, proposals on this issue are being submitted from union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, oblasts, krays, and the City of Moscow. At the same time the opinions of the permanent commissions of the chambers, committees, and deputies' groups—as you know, yesterday, I think, 17 of them were registered, and I believe this registration will be continued—are being taken into account.

Of course, these proposals and views, which to a great extent are determining ones are not final. The decision is up to the congress as in everything else. At the congress each people's deputy can take part in discussing candidatures, propose and criticise any candidature, or withdraw his own candidature. This is recorded in our standing orders, too. As is known, 542 deputies were elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet at the first Congress of People's Deputies. In accordance with the Constitution, the congress is to renew annually up to one-fifth, that is, up to 20 percent, of the composition of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. In total, this amounts to 108 people's deputies. I would imagine that such a level of the legislature's renewal was laid down by those who drew up the Constitution in order to give as many deputies as possible the possibility to participate directly in its activity while maintaining continuity in the work of the Supreme Soviet, its chambers, committees, and commissions.

I would like to stress once again, comrade deputies, the novel nature and importance of the task we are solving today. The way we are going to solve it is of great importance not only for holding and organizing subsequent rotations of the USSR Supreme Soviet but also for the work of the legislatures in those republics where rules for rotation have been legally enshrined and will be implemented. In this aspect, our approaches and experience can become a singular experimental base on which republican bodies of state power will build and perfect their activity. [end recording]

TASS Explains Rotation Process

LD2612184490 Moscow TASS in English 1834 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—The Soviet Congress of People's Deputies today began discussing rotation in the country's parliament. Deputies are expected to create a precedent in the formation and activities of supreme bodies of state power in the country.

According to the Constitution, up to 20 percent of members of the two parliament chambers should be renewed every year. Parliament members are elected from among USSR People's Deputies, who in turn are elected every five years.

Some 18 months ago, the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies elected 542 parliament members. A total of 108 parliament members are now due to be rotated.

According to legislation, rotation should be based on a territorial principle, and not on a group or factional principle.

Addressing the congress with a report on rotation, Council of the Union head Ivan Laptev said 183 deputies, including 98 in the Council of the Union and 85 in the Council of Nationalities, have applied to leave the parliament.

Eight more vacancies resulted from deputies' resignation or death. This means rotation will be considerably greater than the constitution demands, i.e. almost 40 percent instead of 20 percent, Laptev said.

After several hours of debates, 206 people's deputies were nominated for 197 places in the Soviet parliament, including 105 in the Council of the Union and 92 in the Council of Nationalities. The places were freed in accordance with rotation.

Elections of parliament members and Soviet vice-president will be held on Thursday at 9:00.

PRAVDA Views Upcoming Rotation

PM2612203590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by Legislative Observer Miroslav Buzhkevich under "Congress: Day By Day" rubric: "Time for Renewal"]

[Text] It is time to "change the guard" or, rather, partially so. The next item on the congress agenda is the renewal (rotation) of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The congress sociological service has conducted a poll of roughly one-third of the USSR people's deputies, ascertaining their attitude toward rotation and the procedure involved. The majority favor renewing parliament, since, figuratively speaking, fresh blood always has a beneficial effect on an organism: An intake of legislators will bring new ideas and have an impact on the Supreme Soviet's activity. The question raised above all is the replacement of members of parliament who have shown little activity. That is the opinion of representatives of all the deputies' groups. Some even attempt to define the term "little activity." They propose replacing the "record holders" for absenteeism at sittings and keeping a register of proposals sunbmitted by deputies during the elaboration of laws.

When the current USSR Supreme Soviet was elected 18 months ago many people, if not all, did not have a clear enough idea of the heavy burden legislators would have to bear. The precedent of work in the previous Supreme Soviet was too fresh in the memory. It assembled, as a rule, two to three times a year for a few days and rubber-stamped by a show of hands laws and resolutions prepared by the apparatus.

Now, however, everything is different. The legislature has set about serious lawmaking. A host of acts of law have to be virtually renewed or replaced. Sessions of the legislature, and four have been held in 18 months, have lasted two to three months. The activity of committees and commissions has gone on virtually without stopping during recess—laws do have to be prepared. Legislators have had almost no time left for work in their electoral districts.

This has forced some deputies to ask to stand down as members of the Supreme Soviet. A. Yemelyanov, an active legislator, told me that he made such a decision because he had extremely little energy and time left to meet with his voters, give them help, and tackle acute social problems. But his electoral district is in Moscow. How much more difficult it is for those elected in the Far East or Central Asia! And from this standpoint the proposal by some current legislators that the taxing word of lawmaking be carried out by all the country's people's deputies in turn is a just one.

The election of new members to the USSR Supreme Soviet sets the congress a complex task. Under the proposal one-fifth of the legislators—108—are to be rotated. The list distributed to forum participants of those who stand to leave the legislature either of their own will or at the proposal of deputies' groups is considerably bigger. At the same time there are more than 200 new candidates. If all of them are elected to the Supreme Soviet, it will be renewed by roughly 40 percent.

Renewal of the USSR Supreme Soviet is far from being a mechanical affair. Farsighted deputies predict the solution of the problem will produce heated debate and a keen struggle, which is in keeping with the spirit of the times. Only one thing is important, namely, that in discussing what is a new problem for it, the congress show wisdom and act in such a way as to ensure that as a result of rotation, the legislature receives an intake of active deputies who know about life and are suitable for lawmaking.

Deputy Identifies Popov as 'Conspiracy' Leader

LD2612142390 Moscow Radio Rossiya Network in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Statement by USSR People's Deputy Aleksandr Grigoryevich Zhuravlev to Radio Rossiya correspondent at the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Esteemed compatriots, I have to speak to you, since several days after the statement by Comrade Shevardnadze—that we are all threatened by a great calamity—I, too, [had] to have my say, and I said that I knew that there was a consiracy and that I was ready to expose it and identify its leader. It is true. I said that he is a great villain, but greatness and villainy do not go together, so he is just a villain. Think people, whether you need such a congress and such a Supreme Soviet, in which there is not a single person who is, indeed, capable of responding to your anguish. To you I will reveal everything—the name of the villain is Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov.

Alksnis Comments on Accusation Against Popov

LD2612170190 Moscow Radio Rossiya Network in Russian 1230 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Excerpts] In our first news slot on the Mayak wavelength, we broadcast live an interview with Deputy Aleksandr Zhuravlev in which he effectively insulted his colleague, Gavriil Popov, accusing him of nothing less than preparing a plot. [passage omitted]

We have Andrey Zuyev, our legislative correspondent, on the line. Please go ahead, Andrey:

[Zuyev] I invited USSR People's Deputy Viktor Imantovich Alksnis to the microphone today. Viktor Imantovich is already familiar with the conflict that broke out in our 1400 [1100 GMT] program. Viktor Imantovich, what do you think about that?

[Alksnis] What we have is a relapse into the old ways of thinking. Unfortunately, we are always seeking...[changes thought] we need a tsar, and we need a devil. Therefore, we are always asking: Who will take Gorbachev's place? We are always looking for the enemies who are disrupting this perestroyka and making our life so much more difficult. Of course, I think this statement does nothing for the honor of our colleague, Zhuravlev. Keeping in mind that there is an audience of millions of listeners, indeed such a statement must not be made in such an ill-thought-out way, because it causes an explosion of public opinion and serves no purpose. I think he must apologize or bring forth specific evidence. [passage omitted]

[Zuyev] Viktor Imantovich, do you think it possible for troops to be sent to the Persian Gulf?

[Alksnis] I believe that certain circles in our country are trying to get our Armed Forces to participate in this conflict. I see persistent attempts at this, and these are not unsubstantiated assertions. On the other hand, however, we are actively countering these attempts and are doing everything to prevent the blood of our citizens from being spilled in the Arabian sands. The fact that the situation is serious is shown by the fact that I am receiving various telegrams and letters. I received one very strange, anonymous telegram from Moscow, saying:

Do not allow the blood of our sons to be spilled.

[Signed] Mothers of marines from the Far East who have been sent to the Persian Gulf.

I take this as meaning that they are simply informing me—the person who sent this telegram is informing me—that, evidently, there are plans to use our marines in the Persian Gulf. Therefore, I will demand that this be investigated and that the Congress and Supreme Soviet be told of this matter. [passage omitted]

[Zuyev] How do you feel about Yeltsin's reforms?

[Alksnis] My attitude is negative toward these reforms. Unfortunately, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is a major political figure; I have said this before: He is repeating the tactics of the Bolsheviks.

What do I see in the Bolsheviks' tactics? Remember 1918: To maintain power here, in Moscow, at Russia's center, Vladimir Ilich Lenin embarked upon separate talks with Germany; he signed the degrading Brest peace, and for this peace he surrendered the Baltic republics, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the Crimea. His sole aim was to preserve power here, in Moscow. Now Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, obviously using this situation to strengthen his position, is using the same tactics, supporting the process of the disintegration of the Union. That is how I see it and I consider this (?not right) because, unfortunately, Russia is not going to be able to receive all those millions of refugees who will come on the scene in the very near future if these processes deepen. Therefore, I cannot (?support) Boris Nikolayevich's policy. [passage omitted]

[Zuyev] Viktor Imantovich, what is this dictatorship being discussed at the congress?

[Alksnis] You know, these are mostly conjectures; it is just talk. I am a military man, so I know the situation in the armed forces and I can say that the army is not striving toward dictatorship or power. It is not the Army's job (?to rule) the country. [passage omitted]

[Zuyev] Are you pleased with the way the congress is going?

[Alksnis] No, I am not satisfied with the way the congress is going, because what is being adopted here at the congress is not going to make it possible to get out of the crisis and the blind alley we have entered. Nevertheless, what is happening here, within the walls of the Kremlin, is far removed from what is happening outside the walls of the Kremlin.

PRAVDA Publishes New Union Treaty Resolution

PM2612110190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Dec 90 Second Edition p 1

[Resolution signed by USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman A. Lukyanov in the Kremlin in Moscow on 25 December: "Congress of USSR People's Deputies Resolution On the General Concept of the New Union Treaty and the Procedure for Its Conclusion"]

[Text] 1. The Congress of USSR People's Deputies, proceeding from the historical community of peoples and the bonds between them which have developed over the centuries, advocates the preservation of the country's integrity and its name—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the transformation of our multinational state into a voluntary equal union of sovereign republics, a democratic federative state.

The renewed Union, based upon the expression of the will of the peoples and the principles laid down in

declarations on state sovereignty by republics and autonomous formations, is called upon to ensure: equality of all citizens of the country irrespective of their nationality and place of residence; equality of peoples regardless of their numerical strength, their inalienable right to self-determination and free democratic development, and the territorial integrity of the federation's members [subyekty]; guarantees of the rights of ethnic minorities; the strengthening of the Union's positions and prestige as a guarantor of peace and international security.

2. It is deemed expedient that the organization of further work on the draft of the new Union treaty and the determination of the procedure for its conclusion be carried out by a preparatory committee comprising top officials from the federation's members—republics and autonomous formations, the USSR president, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities. The elaboration of the draft's text should proceed on the basis of the general concept submitted to the congress and on the concepts held by the federation's members, taking into account the proposals and remarks made by USSR people's deputies and members of the public.

It is recommended that the preparatory committee begins its work in January 1991.

3 The USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR president, jointly with the republics' supreme organs of state power, are instructed to immediately define measures for ensuring normal functioning by all links in the system of state organs during the period until the new Union treaty is concluded.

It is primarily necessary to agree on the demarcation of powers between the Union and the federation's members and between the Union and each individual member of the federation.

The congress emphasizes that the main condition for reaching agreement is to ensure that, until the new Union treaty is signed, all state organs comply with the current USSR Constitution and Union laws and prevent the adoption of decisions infringing the sovereign rights and legitimate interests of the federation's members.

4. The Congress of USSR People's Deputies, perceiving the conclusion of the new Union treaty as a most important factor for the normalization of the situation in the country and the consolidation of society, addresses the representative organs of state power of the federation's members with an appeal to ensure the preparation and conclusion of the Union treaty.

The congress expresses the hope that, at this historical moment, all citizens, political parties, and public movements will display high degree of activeness and civic responsibility for the country's destiny and the future of our peoples.

[Signed] A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Dated] Moscow, The Kremlin, 25 December 1990.

Dzasokhov Interviewed on Draft Union Treaty

PM2612094990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 90 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with Aleksandr Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs, member of the Politburo, and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by correspondent G. Ovcharenko under the "Lightning Interview" rubric; place and date not given: "Aleksandr Dzasokov: 'Without Separating Domestic From Foreign Policy'"]

[Text] By no means does each people's deputy manage to address the congress. Even if his opinion would expand the scope of active legislative debate. A. Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs, member of the Politburo, and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, did not get an opportunity to speak during the discussion of the draft Union treaty. Did this make him feel aggrieved? Our correspondent's conversation with Aleksandr Sergeyevich began with that question.

[Dzasokhov] I was intending to share with the deputies my ideas on the draft treaty from the standpoint of its international significance.

[Ovcharenko] What would the congress have heard then?

[Dzasokhov] How sensible it would be to voluntarily delegate to the Union center the key foreign policy functions, which are designed to reliably safeguard our state interests in the world arena and to ensure that every member [subyekt] of the federation acts jointly and severally under its authoritative auspices. This kind of upward delegation of certain sovereign rights reflects the most valuable experience gained in world practice.

[Ovcharenko] Aleksandr Sergeyevich, there is a prevailing opinion that we have scored major successes in foreign policy while faltering, to put it mildly, in domestic policy. But is it really possible to separate one from the other? Do they not exert an interpenetrating influence?

[Dzasokhov] Imagine for a moment that we, the Soviet Union, had failed to make a breakthrough in international relations and that the cold war had continued to rage on our planet. What would we have now? The pernicious nuclear arms race would still be going on. A major battle for military mastery of outer space would have started. Would we, in such conditions, really have been able to contemplate, let alone start, switching our economy over to a market-based economy—new for us, but long having ceased to be such for the rest of the world—or to develop democratization? Of course not.

We can discern here, in my opinion, a convincing organizational interconnection between domestic and foreign policy. Building confidence in international relations between states with different social systems has not been easy. This process, which took strenuous professional effort, was not free from compromise. Yet the overall assessment of our actions in the international arena is that every social group of the country's population, and indeed every family and individual, too, has derived benefit.

I will give just one example: As a result of major international agreements in the sphere of disarmament, the country has been able to start implementing the state program to convert the defense industry as early as this year. Expert calculations indicate that by 1995, given the continuation of the disarmament process, the volume of output of nonfood goods by the defense complex will amount to 71 billion rubles [R].

[Ovcharenko] Will the USSR Supreme Soviet's foreign policy functions change after the conclusion of the Union treaty?

[Dzasokhov] The adoption of the new Union treaty, changes in the sphere of international relations, and new ideas on ways of integrating our world economic ties—all this gives grounds for critically rethinking the work of the Supreme Soviet, its Committee on International Affairs, and other structures. Although this does not nullify the appreciably greater role played by the Supreme Soviet and by people's deputies in implementing our foreign policy course. Moreover, legislative dialogue is becoming an autonomous form of constructive international life.

But let us talk about future tasks. A narrow departmental and uncoordinated approach is, unfortunately, perceptible in our country where questions of shaping foreign activity in the political and military spheres are involved. The system whereby the Foreign Ministry, the Defense Ministry, and its General Staff supply legislature with current information—not necessarily from the rostrum, but in writing—about how the most important talks concerning the country's future are faring has to be expanded many times over.

As leader of the Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs, I feel bound to broach another aspect of the problem. Unionwide structures should, I think, integrate more intensively into the process of foreign policy affairs the representatives of union republics, whose real contribution in this sphere remains too low. It is essential that this situation be leveled out, given the new Union treaty. I would make the following preliminary observation. The drafts of all the most important international treaties of the Union state should be mandatorily examined by the Council of the Federation in a consultative rather than executive [rasporyaditelnyy] capacity. Moreover, every republic that signs the new Union treaty should possess the right to conclude and execute on its own international treaties in the nonpolitical sphere, that is to say, the cultural, scientific, and economic spheres.

[Ovcharenko] Aleksandr Sergeyevich, do the structures of our missions abroad match the realities of today?

[Dzasokhov] I think that they do not do so altogether. In my view, they are too unwieldy at present. In other words, we should carry out a thorough stocktaking, since there is not a department in our country which does not have its own mission abroad. Perhaps they were necessary in the period of extreme political and ideological confrontation. But if we consider that there are changes in the international arena, there should also be changes in this sphere, too. Now, at a time when there have been considerable changes in the functions of the republics and of regions as a whole in foreign economic affairs, we feel the need for a rational optimization of foreign economic structures on a Union level which were formed when the former prerogatives of the center in foreign economic and commercial contacts operated.

[Ovcharenko] The creation of a Security Council under the country's president is envisaged. Will it not encroach upon the powers of legislature in this sphere?

[Dzasokhov] I do not think so. The important point here is to consider how the future Security Council, the idea of whose creation is not in doubt, and the already existing Defense Council will collaborate with the Supreme Soviet and its committees to ensure that work is conducted in a way that the country's national security still remains the concern of both executive and legislative power. I consider as deserving of attention the idea of Unionwide sociological surveys on problems concerning the Soviet Union's security, its foreign policy, and its constituent components, the results of which could be taken into account by us, the Foreign Ministry, and other departments. When relying solely upon internal departmental information, you run a risk when you draw up final decisions and it is a method that often does not enjoy appropriate support by the people.

Nishanov Questioned on Union Treaty Issues

PM2112155190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Dec 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by TASS legislative correspondents V. Danilenko and S. Zharkov: "News Conference on Union Treaty"]

[Text] The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics exists. It is the reality from which one has to start, was how R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, answered a question on the acceptability of the well-known formula "X plus 0" for the concept of the new Union treaty. A news conference held on 20 December at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies press center was devoted to the draft treaty.

The chairman of the chamber stressed that the USSR is a sovereign state with all the institutions of government, with its own entities [subyekty], and with international treaty commitments. It is unreasonable to ignore this. Therefore the formula "X plus 0" is, judged by the strictest criteria, not accepted by anyone.

At the same time, he stated that the "withdrawal of any republic from the Union would not be a tragedy." He justified his viewpoint by the fact that such a possibility is envisaged by the present constitution. But this secession must take account of the interests of the people, and such a decision could be taken only by means of a referendum.

But what is to be done about the peoples who have no national-territorial formations on the country's territory? According to the chairman of the Soviet of the Nationalities, during preparation of the treaty it is envisaged that representatives of such peoples, in particular, Koreans, Gypsies, and Jews, should have the opportunity to take part in its signing. Specific forms will be worked out, but, from the standpoint of the leader of the chamber, these peoples could put forward authorized representatives through their own all-Union associations.

R.N. Nishanov also pointed out that all four basic aspects of the Union Treaty—political, economic, national, and legal—are of paramount significance.

Tajik President Advocates Union Treaty

PM2112131790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Dec 90 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with Tajik President Kakhar Makhkamov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, by PRAVDA correspondent V. Khatuntsev; under the "Lightning Interview" rubric; place and date not given: "'There Must Be a Union'"]

[Text] [Khatuntsev] What is your impression of the report on the Union treaty and of the progress of its discussion [at the Congress of People's Deputies]?

[Makhkamov] What is new and most important in the report is the idea of the place of the autonomous republics and formations in the Union. Perhaps this was the critical factor. But on the whole the stance of the Union republics is reflected in the report.

At the session of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet all the deputies expressed the desire: There should be a Union. We are for the Union, but it is essential that our remarks, which consist of 12 points, be taken into consideration in its final draft. The debate on the report already under way shows that the document can be improved and polished. There are many businesslike proposals.

[Khatuntsev] The editorial commission will probably consider the amendments and wishes of the republics and of individual deputies. But how is agreement on the question of the timetable for concluding the treaty to be approached?

[Makhkamov] I think the treaty should be adopted as quickly as possible. There is no other way for us to avoid the disintegration of the country. This disintegration has already begun. This dangerous, ruinous process must be halted.

[Khatuntsev] Many speeches at the congress speak of the development of horizontal links and strengthening economic cooperation independently of the center. Is your republic participating in the reconstruction of this economic space?

[Makhkamov] We have concluded treaties with almost all the republics. Very soon we intend to sign documents with the Ukraine. The establishment of direct ties will be thereby accomplished. Direct ties have also been strengthened with our regional neighbors and with the Baltic and Transcaucasian republics. It is firm economic contacts, I think, that will form the framework of the future structure of the Union.

[Khatuntsev] In that case, can the declaration of sovereignty be viewed as a political maneuver?

[Makhkamov] There are declarations and declarations. You have to study each of these documents carefully; there are differences and nuances. There is only one thing thing that they have in common: each republic's desire for autonomy. True, a number of republics do not want political links. But all are bound together economically with each other and with the center. It would be naive to ignore this existing reality. All understand that they cannot live without an economic Union. Isolation means self-destruction, that is my understanding. Therefore the most important thing today is to recognize reality and not to entertain ambitious illusions, as some people are doing. The Union of republics must be preserved and strengthened on a new basis.

Kazakhstan's Nazarbayev on Union Treaty

PM2412103190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Dec 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Kazakh president, by PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Makhrin; under the "Lightning Interview" rubric; in Moscow, date not given: "Nursultan Nazarbayev: 'People Must Realize: We Cannot Live Without the Union'"]

[Text] Yesterday was a rest day at the Congress. But did the deputies rest? Certainly not all of them.... Today in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses there are new questions, new discussions, new speakers.

Let us note that the congress is thus far working efficiently and productively. In particular, the concept of the new Union treaty has been adopted. This and other questions arising at the congress were the subject of our correspondent's talk with Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and president of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

[Makhrin] So the discussion of the draft new Union treaty has ended. Is it a question of signing it now?

[Nazarbayev] That must be decided by the republic legislatures. They must discuss the draft treaty and ratify it. Only then can the republics' top leaders, with that mandate in their hands, start talking about signing it.

The vast majority of the country's people are, I believe, in favor of the Union. So why should we try to persuade those who have stated that they do not want to sign the treaty? Let Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan—four republics that possess 85 percent of the USSR's potential—conclude the treaty. I am convinced we can reach agreement. The doors should be left open for the others. Let them think about it. Before a year has passed they will realize that you cannot live in our country without a Union, without unification. I mean without a different Union—the new one. After all, what do we have now? The center refuses to grasp that it is the republics that must be given the opportunity to form the center. It is the republics that will give powers to the president and to the country. But they will not admit that, they want to create a new USSR from above. That is the whole source of the conflict.

[Makhrin] There was a heated debate on the new treaty. Did you extract anything constructive or interesting from it?

[Nazarbayev] Yes, a great deal. For all the diversity of opinions, they do coincide on many points. No one said that we reject the Union. Except perhaps for the Baltic. In principle everyone is "in favor." But everyone said: Recognize the documents on the republics' sovereignty! This is not the whim of the republic leaders, it is the reality in the republics. We are now bound by a document on sovereignty, it was discussed by the whole people.

[Makhrin] Are you familiar with the draft treaty proposed by Deputy Bocharov, and how do you assess it?

[Nazarbayev] Yes, I have read it. There are some very good ideas in it. But it is not all beyond dispute. There are contentious points on, say, ownership.... But the proposal to create a Soviet of the Union, made up of representatives of the republics, as the highest organ, and to make the Supreme Soviet unicameral—that is, I think acceptable. Everyone must think about this.

[Makhrin] Voices have been heard here saying: The government must go!

[Nazarbayev] I do not think everyone should go. There must be continuity. There are talented, sensible people among today's members of the government. So everyone "goes"—and we start again from the ruins? No way! But the life of 300 million people today depends largely on 10 men. They are the president, the prime minister, the chairmen of the State Planning Committee, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, the State Committee for Prices, and so forth. Those people must be people who are committed to the aims of the transition to a market economy. Look, they are proposing to conclude a provisional treaty—an economic treaty. I agree with that, because otherwise we will ruin everything. But on the other hand, all the reciprocal deliveries, all the state orders, are preserved. What does this mean—are we postponing the market for another year, or for how long?

[Makhrin] Certain deputies intend to propose you as a candidate for the post of vice president. What is your attitude to that?

[Nazarbayev] I do not know why we need a vice president. If we make the Federation Council a real, viable, effective body influencing the country's entire domestic and foreign policy, and if the decisions of the Federation Council are expressed in decrees binding on all territories—what would the vice president do? If he is assigned the role that is envisaged in the draft amendment to the constitution, he is just another aide. I cannot see myself in such a structure.

IZVESTIYA Reports Kryuchkov News Conference

PM2612210190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Dec 90 Union Edition p 8

[G. Alimov report: "KGB Chairman V. Kryuchkov: It Is Impossible To Return to the Past"]

[Text] Vladimir Kryuchkov, leader of the country's KGB, gave a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Supreme Soviet press center 25 December. It attracted a very large audience.

This is explicable: The recent speech by the chief of the state security service to the Congress of USSR people's Deputies did not go unnoticed and produced varying assessments, the speech even being seen by some as a return to the spirit of the old days.

Vladimir Kryuchkov acknowledged that he had "gladly agreed" to meet with journalists, although, as he then joked, he would far more gladly have changed places with them: "You would answer and I would do the questioning...."

So what does the KGB leader think about the reaction to his speech?

"It is impossible to return to the past," he stated, "either in the Soviet Union or in the sphere of interstate relations. Even if someone wanted to return to the past, he would immediately fall flat on his face, because we have entered a new stage in the life of the Soviet Union and we do not intend to go into reverse, although certain adjustments to what is now taking place in our country will of course take place."

Vladimir Kryuchkov considers that this is perfectly natural. He also considers the mixed reaction to his speech natural.

"We have pluralism, and it would be strange if a speech by the chairman of the KGB were to be met by everyone with the same response and tumultuous applause and there were to be no questions," he said.

As is well-known, the KGB leader talked in his speech about destructive forces, among which he included, in particular, those who are working toward the destruction of the unified federal state. At the news conference Vladimir Kryuchkov confirmed his standpoint on this score. He stated that our country "is a great Union" which took several centuries to form and that this is "our greatest asset."

The KGB chairman went on to express himself in the following terms: You can adopt any stance and involve yourself in any struggle, but it is important that it be conducted within the framework of the Constitution. Moreover, Vladimir Kryuchkov continued, you can say that you are against Soviet power and carry out agitation against it. That does not constitute a crime. But if you resort to acts of violence, then you enter the sphere of action of the state security organs.

Asked about the kind of role the KGB would play if a state of emergency or presidential rule were introduced, he said:

"The KGB is part of the executive power. If we receive appropriate instructions on this score, and the instructions are indisputably lawful in nature, the KGB will discharge its role."

What is the KGB leader's opinion on the approaching dictatorship about which so much is being said?

"I too am disturbed about the state of affairs in the country," Vladimir Kryuchkov said. "And in the KGB we are studying the various ways in which events could develop. I consider our task is to prevent any dictatorship."

But he does consider that the question of emergency measures could arise "in a country where much has been destroyed and where life has become abnormal."

"I am deeply convinced that if, let us assume, our president utilizes these measures, it will in no way signify a return to the past," the committee leader stated. "It will simply be instilling the order which everyone is so much longing for."

The KGB chairman expressed his opinion on the country's security council, which in all probability will be formed. As he related, the proposal to set up such an organ came from all the republics, including the Baltic republics and Georgia. It is intended that the council will tackle the questions that arise with greater promptness and to the requisite standard. In Vladimir Kryuchkov's opinion, it is a modern and better structure.

One questioner asked whether there were forecasts as to how many people will leave the country, given the upcoming adoption of the Law on Entry and Exit. There are forecasts. This year 440,000-460,000 people will leave the country. In Vladimir Kryuchkov's opinion, it is perfectly possible that this level will not fall in 1991. That is a very large number of people for us, he said. It is an indicator of the poor state of our society. What constitutes a power's wealth? Its wealth is its people, its intellectual potential. It is very painful to see people leaving the country. And, what is more, often leaving for good.

Deputies Register by Groups at Congress

LD2512185490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Report by legislative correspondent V. Polozhentsev in the Kremlin in Moscow; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Polozhentsev] The eighth day of the congress is no exception, as far as the tense activities go. The morning session, which was opened by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, was devoted to a discussion of a resolution on the general concept of the new Union Treaty. [passage omitted]

Kudryavtsev, chairman of the Drafting Commission, spoke on the draft resolution on issues relating to amendments and addenda to the Constitution, in connection with the enhancement of the system of state administration. [passage omitted]

There were a very great many questions for the rapporteur, and in order to enable the Drafting Commission to examine them carefully, the presiding member proposed that the congress should register groups of deputies. Lists by name were drawn up by computer. The Soyuz group unites 561 deputies. There are 229 people registered in the Interregional Group of deputies. In the group of autonomous formations there are 239. The biggest group is the group of Communists, in which there are 730 deputies; whereas the smallest is the Social Democrats, who registered only 19. There are 153 people in the group for constructive interaction, 220 in the ecology group. The group of Young Deputies of the USSR unites 125; Internationalist Servicemen, 52; 40 deputies are in the Justice [Spravedlivost] group. The group for promoting scientific and technical progress 90 people; there are about 400 deputies in the Workers' group; 631 in the Agrarians'. There are 216 deputies in the Life [Zhizn] group set up by women; 38 in the For Civilian Societ [Za grazhdanskoye obshchestvo]; and 112 deputies in the

Cultural Issues [gruppa po voprosam kultury] group. The Science and Industry group has 87 members; and there are also 87 deputies in the Academic Deputies' group [akademicheskaya deputatskaya gruppa].

The congress is continuing its work.

Congress Diversity Creates 'Unexpected Alliances'

LD2512140190 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 25 Dec 90

[By TASS World Service legislative analyst Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow December 25 TASS—The registration of the groups of deputies formed at the Soviet congress, which was carried out today at the initiative of the forum's presidium, showed that the group of women numbers 216, Afghan war veterans—52, and young deputies—125.

The list of the newly-formed groups of deputies enables one to sketch a political portrait of the Soviet society at the time of the transition from totalitarism to democracy and, moreover, to appraise the alignment of political forces in the USSR.

The first conclusion that can be drawn from the superficial analysis of the composition and size of all 18 groups is that all of them differ not only politically but also professionally: There are groups of workers, farmers, ecologists and scientific-technical workers.

Evidently, only some of them may claim the role of parties or at least their future nucleus. These are Communists, the largest organised group at the congress, and Social Democrats.

In analysing the influence they exert at the congress, one should draw attention to the number of their supporters—730 and 19.

It can be supposed that the role played by the group of Communists at the congress somewhat exceeds Communists' influence in society as a whole (it should be noted that Communist Party members at the congress surely outnumber the officially registered group of Communists).

The body of deputies was elected almost two years ago when the Communist Party's dominant role was sealed by the Constitution. Another reason behind Communists' strong influence at the congress is that Mikhail Gorbachev, one of the main guarantors of the country's integrity and architect of perestroyka, retains the post of the party leader.

It is likewise curious to draw a comparison between the two groups capturing much of the public attention—the Inter-regional Group of Deputies and the Soyuz Group.

The first is frequently called left-wing or radical, the second—right-wing or conservative. At the congress where the very existence of nationalist parties is impossible, the Inter-regional Group plays the role of a popular front that works for nonrestrictive democracy and early sovereignty for republics and Soyuz—the role of an all-Union international movement seeking to keep all of the republics together and preserve the strong centre.

The Inter-regional Group was formed at the first congress and numbered about 500 deputies. Today's registration showed that the number of its supporters dwindled to 229.

Soyuz, which was set up relatively recently, became one of the most influential groups at the congress—its membership increased to total 561 deputies.

The success of the Centrist Group for Constructive Interaction that won 153 votes sprang a surprise at the congress. As many as 220 deputies rallied to ecologists.

Groups formed under the class principle—those of farmers (431) and workers (400)—remain rather powerful, primarily in terms of their membership rather than influence. The rest of the groups are relatively small.

The great diversity of views and sympathies that reflects political pluralism in the country can create most unexpected alliances in discussing overriding issues on the congress's agenda. Membership in one or another group can hardly be considered as stable—the boundaries between them are sure to be mobile.

Considering the presidium's political experience, this opens ample opportunities to it to pass decisions that are crucial to the country.

Congress 'Conjectures, Rumors' Probed

PM2612100790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 90 Union Edition p 6

[Report by A. Stepovoy under the "Behind the Scenes at the Congress" rubric: "Rumors Are Being Denied, But Those Signatures Remain"]

[Text] As the end of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies approaches, more and more conjectures, rumors, and stories of various kinds can be heard both from the rostrum of the forum and in its corridors. Every day produces some sensational story or its refutation.

Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's resignation statement is still widely discussed. In a conversation with journalists, A. Dzasokhov, member of the CPSU top leadership, sought to dot all the "i's" of this story. He flatly rejected rumors that the congress scenario, including Eduard Shevardnadze's resignation, was drawn up in advance at a sitting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. "His statement," he stressed, "was as much a surprise for the president as it was for all other congress participants."

A new rumor about yet another resignation emerged on the morning of 24 December: The mayor of Moscow, Deputy G. Popov, was alleged to have resigned his office. There is no need for us to report the reasons, seeing that S. Stankevich, first deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, described this story in a conversation with IZVESTIYA's legislative correspondent as idle invention.

On 22 December SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published an appeal to the USSR president by 53 deputies and public figures of the country, entitled "With Hope and Faith." It contains, in particular, the following words: "We are threatened by a disastrous dictatorship of people ruthless in their desire to possess the territory, resources, intellectual wealth, and manpower of the country called the USSR."

Yet another intimidation story. What is its meaning? I turned for explanation to one of the authors of the appeal, B. Gidaspov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR people's deputy:

"Those of us who signed this appeal pursued a single objective: To show that Mikhail Gorbachev is supported by all strata of Soviet society, including the Army."

How did an appeal addressed to M. Gorbachev alone become the property of the general public? When was it prepared and signed? You must agree that these are far from idle questions.

"To be honest," Boris Veniaminovich admitted, "I do not know how it surfaced at the congress and in the press. I signed the letter about two days before the congress opened—here, in Moscow. And I presumed that it was intended solely for Mikhail Sergeyevich. I do not even know who took it into his head to duplicate it. I would not do that."

Asked who the author of the original text was, B. Gidaspov evasively remarked: "I think it was one of the writers...." Who actually suggested signing the already prepared text of the appeal? And here B. Gidaspov limited himself to just the following explanation: "Several people approached me...." He did not give their names either.

Boris Veniaminovich mentioned the Army during our brief interview. And the following words are devoted to it in the appeal: "The Army, exhausted by hounding, uncertainty, and the grim tasks [gorkiye zaboty] of ensuring the fatherland's security will support you **as supreme commander in chief** (my emphasis—A.S.)."

I was interested in the reaction to this appeal, which had been published and also circulated in duplicated form among deputies, by members of the army, including those who had signed it. On 24 December, generals and marshals who are people's deputies and who usually willingly respond to journalists' questions, declined as if under orders, my request to provide a brief interview.

Deputy Colonel N. Petrushenko came to my rescue on this occasion. I asked him to put his autograph next to his photograph in the book "USSR People's Deputies," which has just been published by the IZVESTIYA Publishing House. Nikolay Semenovich complied with my request and put his signature next to his portrait. His signature seemed somewhat ornate to me.

"See what I have put down for you?"—he said cheerfully.

"Your autograph?"

"But there is a tank under my autograph," N. Petrushenko deemed it necessary to explain.

"But you are an instructor in propaganda and agitation, aren't you, not a tank crewman?"

"That is a hint," the colonel said with a smile.

"Yes, but the tank you have drawn is going toward your head..."

"No sweat. No need to worry about me," the military man, who, like me, was born after the Great October Revolution, reassured me....

Really I am now even more lost in conjecture as to what the 53 persons who signed the appeal to the president have in mind when they speak about "the Army exhausted by hounding." And yet these words bear the signatures of V. Varennikov, USSR deputy defense minister and deputy; V. Kulikov, marshal and deputy; M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and deputy; V. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy....

I would very much like to dispel the persistent rumors circulating in the congress corridors. But the problem is that the almost childish picture of the tank drawn by the none too skillful hand of Deputy Colonel Petrushenko does not allow me to do so.

Greater Executive Power 'Vitally Necessary'

PM2612153590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Georgiy Ovcharenko under the rubric: "The Congress Day by Day": "Anonymous Dictatorship"]

[Text] In the morning, while I was on my way to the congress, my next-door neighbor suddenly declared:

"Tell the deputies not to scare me off with talk about dictatorship. I am more scared of empty shelves, beggarly wages, and the fact that it is dangerous to let my daughter go out in the city alone. If a dictator emerged who would enable me to lead a normal life, I would kiss his feet...."

When I got to the congress, I related this conversation to a deputy I know, and he replied:

"And what if this dictator were to send your neighbor to Solovki [White Sea Islands labor camp under Stalin] for no reason at all? What will he say then?"

I do not think there is anyone who could unambiguously resolve the dispute, as old as the world itself, about the extent of executive power. Especially when a sizeable proportion of it, as proposed by the draft Law on the Introduction of Amendments to the USSR Constitution, will be concentrated in one man's hands. It is as if walking along a razor's edge—a step to the left brings unbridled ochlocracy, mob rule; a step to right brings dictatorship. How to remain on the razor's edge, how to avoid falling off so as to arrive at a genuine rule-of-law state?

This is the crucial question which the congress attempted to answer yesterday, when discussing amendments to the USSR Constitution which substantially extend the boundaries of presidential rule. You can read about the way deputies did this and their arguments "for" and "against" in our Kremlin reportage. As for me, during yesterday's discussion I "kept in mind" my next-door neighbor's words and, comparing them against the deputies' arguments, tried to stay on the razor's edge as it were, in other words to avoid going to extremes and to work out what drove the speakers and what determined their positions. Especially since the specter of dictatorship, released by E. Shevardnadze inside the congress hall Thursday [20 December], was still haunting it yesterday.

True enough, once again—as befits a specter—it remained anonymous. The hint that "the conspiracy" by advocates of dictatorship "is headed by an evil genius, so look for someone who is both evil and a genius" did little to clarify matters. It was as if everyone were crying "Stop thief!" without anyone attempting to steal anything.

Nonetheless, let us not oversimplify the situation. The realities of the present and the situation in which the country finds itself today are such that the danger of dictatorship cannot be discounted. People—exhausted by privations, shortages of foodstuffs and goods, and rampaging crime, embittered by the growth of unearned incomes enjoyed by the so-called enterprising section of the population, and bewildered by the paralysis of what is already a new democratic power—indeed do demand a "strong hand." Order is needed—this is also the main demand contained in the editorial office mailbag. Furthermore, most readers demand the toughest of measures to impose it, right up to quartering and the electric chair.

An extreme attitude? Of course. But it is understandable, if you spend the whole day standing in line for a pair of socks and leave empty-handed, if your children and grandchildren are brought up in a single room of a shared apartment, if you have to hold a couple of jobs and still live—like millions of your compatriots—below the poverty line. This is what nurtures the malicious desire to discover the culprits and tear them to pieces, to pray for tyrants without noticing that you are no longer human.

All this can be understood. But can it be admitted? Never! Our people—more than any other people—have had more than their fair share of repressions in different times. Has our life become better as a result of it, have we ourselves become better?!

No, there can be simply no return to Beriya's times. The years of perestroyka, which have emancipated people's minds, have not been wasted.

The talk at the congress—despite the attempts being made to sidetrack it—is not at all about dictatorship. It is about establishing order and respect for the constitution and the laws in the country. It is about measures which would bring about the country's stabilization and the initial conditions which would make it possible to build rather than destroy.

But in order to make these measures effective, we need a mechanism for their implementation, we need a strengthening of executive power. You must agree, this is no simple task. Practice has already proved that a multitude of sound laws may be passed, but life will not change unless they are applied. Therefore, it is also a question of executive power being able to execute the legislators' will. This is yet to happen in our country.

The president is now taking this heavy burden upon himself and upon his newly formed team. The amendments to the constitution presuppose the president's enhanced responsibility for the situation in the country from now on.

Does this contain a danger of dictatorship, as some deputies claim? Theoretically, yes. Suppose that the president is not M. Gorbachev with his—as someone put it—inborn democratism, but the "evil genius" I mentioned. Over a certain period of time, he would be able to take advantage of the expanded powers for evil purposes, for the establishment of his own cult.

But please note my reservation: Over a certain period of time. Because those selfsame proposed amendments to the constitution—to use the legal jargon—provide a system of checks and balances which would legislatively prevent anyone single-handedly reversing our ship's course from democracy to dictatorship. By making use of the existing powers, the Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet, and the Constitutional Court will prevent this. Of course the people who, incidentally, yesterday gained the right to referendums, in other words to nationwide vote on the most topical problems.

One more consideration: The new USSR Constitution will be ratified in six months' or a year's time, as one of yesterday's speakers declared at the congress. This time period will clearly show how our presidential team will exercise its new powers. If it is unsuccessful, the deputy said, we will be entitled to delete these amendments from the constitution....

So, my next-door neighbor is right: There is no need to scare us off with talk about dictatorship! As for the stepping up of executive power, it is vitally necessary in today's situation. It is necessary in order to establish normal life for the country, for people who want to work well and live well. The people will no longer tolerate the present excesses.

Political & Social

Spokesman 'Worried' by Ryzhkov Condition

LD2612201690 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] The presidential spokesman, Vitaliy Ignatenko, has told journalists the condition of the Soviet prime minister, Nikolay Ryzhkov, gives rise to grave concern. We are very worried by Ryzhkov's worsened condition, he said.

Last night Ryzhkov had a heart attack and was admitted to hospital.

Ignatenko said Ryzhkov's first deputy, Yuriy Maslyukov, has been acting as prime minister.

Information Limited

PM2612170190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Dec 90 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under general heading "N.I. Ryzhkov Suffers Heart Attack"]

[Text] The IZVESTIYA editorial office instructed its correspondent to find out the state of N. Ryzhkov's health as of 1400 hours, in other words one hour before the newspaper's Moscow edition was due to be signed to press. No such information was made available to the newspaper either by the chief physician at the hospital where the head of government is now, nor by the reception office of L. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, nor by the Information Administration, nor by the Council of Ministers Secretariat. It appears that it is "not for publication..."

Possible Shevardnadze Successors Named

LD2612140290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1345 GMT 26 Dec 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] A report, not fully confirmed, from sources close to the Foreign Ministry leadership: Academician Yevgeniy Primakov and the current permanent representative of the USSR at the United Nations, Yuliy Vorontsov, are now being named among the possible successors to Shevardnadze.

Latvian Resolution Deemed Unconstitutional

PM2612171390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Dec 90 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Consitutional Oversight Committee"]

[Text] As proposed by the USSR president, the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee examined on 21 December 1990 the question of the constitutionality of the 4 August 1990 Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet resolution. The resolution suspended the 2 November 1989 USSR Council of Ministers directive on residence permits for servicemen and members of their families, because it deprived that category of Soviet citizens an opportunity to exercise their right to labor, housing, health care, education, and other basic socioeconomic rights. The committee accepted that the resolution in question does not comply with the USSR Constitution and with international acts on human rights and is therefore null and void.

Politicking Seen Behind Famine Amid Plenty

PM2712102190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Dec 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Eduard Volodin under "Observer's Opinion" rubric: "The Purpose of Charity"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]. A most startling thing is currently happening regarding the international aid to the starving people of the Soviet Union, or more precisely, of Soviet Russia. It is not startling that international foundations, national organizations, and individual citizens are sending us food, clothing, and medicines. There are kind and unselfish people and organizations everywhere, and heartfelt thanks go to all of them for their generosity and responsiveness. What does startle me is that overnight a great power has turned into a citadel of poverty, and the urgency with which aid is coming shows that our poverty bears no comparison with that of Bangladesh, Sudan, and Ethiopia. This is at a time when, if you believe the president, and I do believe him, a harvest has been gathered which is no smaller than last year's and purchases abroad have not decreased. Consequently, there is food in the country, and it will last until the new harvest. At the same time stores are empty and, wonder of wonders, if stores are again anything to go by chickens have stopped laying eggs, while market prices have exceeded all reasonable bounds.

In all civilized countries such a situation has always been called economic sabotage, which pursues quite specific aims. Examples can be found in our country's history too. Before February 1917 food deliveries to Petrograd were stopped, trains carrying foodstuffs remained at a standstill beyond the Volga River, but, as soon as czarist power was done away with, trains set off for Petrograd rapidly and in an organized fashion. The organized famine at the beginning of the thirties spurred on the

collectivization and "pacified" millions of dissatisfied people can also be taken as proven. That is why I am deeply disturbed by the existence of food in the country, the lack of it in the stores, and the worldwide campaign for rendering aid to our people that has suddenly arisen, being given wide coverage and seems absurd to many Western politicians. The first belated actions of the law and order bodies to study the system of foodstuffs distribution have exposed huge hoarded food stocks. Constant reports on discoveries of foodstuffs on dumps are also quite symptomatic. A proportion of shady deals can ascribed to speculators and thieves. And finally, one can see the mafia's organized work behind the food shortage. But, let me reiterate, given the existence of adequate stocks of foodstuffs, the universal shortage cannot be understood unless one brings in so important a factor as the political disposition in the country. And it greatly resembles a period of diarchy, with the president still preserving the country's integrity and possessing power and authority, but they are already inadequate to ensure that the law is carried out and citizens are protected by this law. He is by no means opposed by the party apparatus, that lost hold of power in spring, is in disorder, and is constantly working out platforms and action programs. He, the president, is currently opposed by a force—currently still amalgamating—comprised of former bigwigs from the soviets and ideological leaders who have settled into different party niches, the real owners of capital have been legalized over the years of perestroyka, and far-flung nationalists who are deliberately messing the country up and who have their supporters and fervent followers in Russia. In such antagonism, or rather confrontation, the food shortage and famine are becoming a trump card in a political game. I might be mistaken as to the time but probably at the start of the year this alliance of political forces, having a vested interest in a radical change of political system and power regime, will be revealed. Most likely by this time the people's starvation will have come to such a pass that it will enable political ultimatums to be declared in complete confidence that they will not cause resistance from the people or, more than that, they will meet with support from wide sections of the population.

Therefore the absence of foodstuffs cannot be considered the consequence solely of economic mismanagement. A political struggle is going on, and in it food is a tried and tested means of manipulating the masses. And as regards international aid, I repeat again—it comes unselfishly from individual people and charitable organizations, but its scale and the stir surrounding this charitable activity also have their own particular significance. If matters are reaching the point of food parcels being sent as was the case in wartime and during the Volga region famine in 1921-1922, the situation is hopeless—that is the only conclusion being implanted in the mass consciousness and it determines the degree of distortion of social psychology. In such circumstances we expect and desire any political revolution. That means that somebody has a considerable vested interest in seeing Ivan and Marya go hungry, while John and Mary, Jean and Marie, and Johannes and Miriam send them foodstuffs, underwear, and medicines. We therefore know who to bow to and say words of thanks to for their responsiveness to human misfortune, and meanwhile those who have brought Marya and Ivan to such a existence remain in the shadows.

Problems of Law Enforcement Agencies Viewed

91P50065 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 20 Dec 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by Moscow TASS correspondent O. Kulikov: "How To Improve the Militia's Efficiency Ratio?"]

[Text] Of the 2.5 million crimes recorded this year, only half have been investigated by internal affairs organs, the first deputy chief of the Main Criminal Investigation Administration, Ye. Lagoda, reported at a briefing at the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] on 18 December. The subject of the briefing was the state of law and order in the country and the effectiveness of the work of law enforcement agencies.

The work of the militia is judged primarily by the level of crime detection. Today it is not high—a total of 55 percent. However, to be fair, it should be pointed out that 75,000 more criminal cases have been investigated this year than last. The actual number of workers in detective services, investigation, and inquiry has remained at last year's level, while crime has increased 12 percent this year.

According to specialists' estimates, the level of detection can be elevated if an investigator's case load is no greater than 28 cases a year instead of 120 as it is in practice. This would require an additional 21,000 detectives. But will this solve the problem?

The lack of modern scientific and technical equipment ties the investigation hand and foot. There are, for example, no simple, convenient means of fingerprint identification; fingerprint identification is done as it was 200 years ago.

The major problem is a catastrophic lack of transportation for the militia. However, since the government has recently obtained a large number of vehicles, the MVD has allocated a large portion to the ministry apparatus.

Presidential Action Urged, Supported

91UN0564A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Dec 90 Second Edition p 1

[Appeal to President Gorbachev: "With Hope and Belief—Appeal to Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, President of the USSR"]

[Text]Respected Mikhail Sergeyevich!

We appeal to you with hope and belief.

Our greatest treasure, that has come down to us across a thousand years of history, is threatened—our Fatherland, whose creation has encompassed the entire potential of the people's life. The social system, achieved at great expense and sacrifice and sustained through the unprecedented cataclysms of the last 70 years, may perish. The structures of state and public life are collapsing, dooming the people to famine and chaos. Calls for civil war are appearing in the press.

You have proclaimed a social renewal and—believing you—the popular masses have risen, prepared to serve with their skills and talents. All this is drowning in the destructive darkness of the social strata called the criminal shadow economy. These anti-popular, antisocialist strata are ready to undertake extreme measures which may lead to the destruction not only of the state or the country but of a branch of world history; and its destruction will be a global, worldwide catastrophe.

We are threatened with the destructive dictatorship of people who are merciless in their desire to possess territories, resources, intellectual riches, and the labor force of the country whose name is the USSR.

Having considered all the circumstances, we request that you, as the honored leader of the nation, halt the chaos and forbid the disintegration of the state using all the power and authority at your command.

In our opinion, only under conditions of stability and discipline is it possible to continue social reconstruction and create a civil society, a multilevel economy, and a directed market. Only under these conditions is it possible to continue the global peace process, with the USSR participating as a mighty state, a stable government and harmonized social interests.

We propose that you take immediate measures against separatism, subversive antistate activities, instigation, and interethnic strife by availing yourself of the law, the powers given you, and the resolution of the state structures to carry out the will of the people and your will as president.

If constitutional forms of influence on the separatists, criminal operators, and armed detachments who continue to shed the blood of the people turn out to be ineffective, we propose that you introduce a state of emergency and presidential rule in zones of major conflicts.

Let your resolution in this be reinforced by the confidence that you will be supported by the broadest layers of the people.

You will be supported by workers, who are tired of being alarmed for their families and of uncertainty in the future.

You will be supported by the working peasants, who are pursuing the agricultural way of life with every ounce of their strength and are trying to feed the population of the cities and industrial centers.

You will be supported by the creative intelligentsia and the engineering and technical intelligentsia, who are tragically contemplating the approaching collapse of the national economy.

You will be supported by basic science, the higher school, and popular education, which are without investment of funds and are losing minds and talents as a result of the "brain drain."

You will be supported by the multiethnic culture, which is becoming impoverished and is losing influence over the popular consciousness, where corrupting antispirituality has taken shelter.

You will be supported as the supreme commander of the military, languishing from persecution, uncertainty, and bitter concern for the safety of the Fatherland.

You will be supported by veterans of war and labor, who will defend the freedom and independence of the Homeland with their blood.

You will be supported by a renewed party of communists which has accumulated in its ranks the experience of social construction and valuable ideals of social justice.

You will be supported by the church—Orthodox, Muslim, and all cults and faiths—which will give you its benediction to avert fratricidal strife.

You will be supported by our people in general, who are afraid for their homes and the welfare of their children.

You will be supported by the leaders of world politics, who no longer fear the USSR as a totalitarian superpower but fear the fragmentation of a colossus destabilizing the entire world structure as it falls. The measures we suggest to you, your resolute actions that the people await—without them, further renewal is impossible and wellbeing in homes and families is impossible.

We call upon you to fulfill your historic, national mission for the second time in your rule in the name of the salvation of democracy and in the name of the defense of the world revolution called perestroyka.

THE APPEAL WAS SIGNED BY: A.P. Aleksandrov, academician Aleksiy II, patriarch of all Rus P.A. Alkhimenkov, worker S.G. Arutyunov, director of an enterprise M. Artyukh, director of an enterprise N.G. Basov, academician O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR people's deputy Yu.V. Berestovskiy, director of an enterprise Yu.V. Bondarev, writer V.P. Barmin, academician V.I. Belov, writer, USSR people's deputy V.I. Varennikov, USSR deputy minister of defense, USSR people's deputy B.V. Gidaspov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR people's deputy O. Gupanov, director of an enterprise N.N. Gubenko, USSR minister of culture A.I. Demyanov, worker Yu.F. Yemaletdinov, director of an enterprise A.I. Kiselev, director of an enterprise I.N. Kozhedub, three times hero of the Soviet Union, USSR people's deputy M. Kravtsov, director of an enterprise

V.G. Kulikov, marshal, USSR people's deputy S. Kunyayev, writer V. Klykov, sculptor K. Kostin, director of an enterprise V.I. Kuznetsov, general designer N.M. Mikhaylov, director of an enterprise M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the general staff of the USSR Armed Forces, USSR people's deputy A.A. Nikonov, president of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin A.A. Prokhanov, chief editor of the journal SOVETSKAYA LITERATURA, writer A.I. Nesterov, director of an enterprise B.Ye. Paton, president of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Academy of Sciences V.N. Piskunov, director of an enterprise Yu.P. Platonov, chairman of the board of the USSR Union of Architects, USSR people's deputy R. Pirnazarov, doctor, USSR people's deputy A.M. Prokhorov, academician V.V. Ryumin, cosmonaut, USSR people's deputy S.Ye. Savitskaya, cosmonaut, USSR people's deputy A.I. Savin, academician T.T. Salakhov, first secretary of the USSR Union of Artists, USSR people's deputy V. Semenov, director of an enterprise G.P. Smirnova, worker I.D. Spasskiy, chief designer A.I. Tizyakov, president of an association of state enterprises V.F. Utkin, academician, USSR people's deputy K.V. Frolov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, USSR people's deputy I.N. Fridlyander, academician P.A. Chekmarev, worker V.N. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy, USSR people's deputy Yu.V. Shatalin, chief of the Internal Troops Main Administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs I.S. Shatilov, academician of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin M.M. Shults, academician A.Ye. Sheyndlin, academician I.N. Shepelevich, director of an enterprise.

Political Scientists View Economic Reform

91UN0525A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 51, 19 Dec 90 p 10

[Dialogue between political scientists Aleksandr Yanov and USSR People's Deputy Nikolay Shmelev, place and date not given; under the rubric "At the Crossroads of Opinions": "Two in One Boat—Along With the Whole Country"]

[Text]**Alone—no matter who might try to tackle the matter—it is impossible to overcome the obstacles in our country on its way to a new economic system. This is why relations between M.S. Gorbachev and B.N. Yeltsin are important to every person who is concerned for the fate and even the very existence of our country. The dialogue between well-known political scientists Aleksandr Yanov, who has just arrived in Moscow on the latest of his trips from New York in recent months, and USSR People's Deputy Nikolay Shmelev is dedicated to a program of joint actions by Russia and the Center.**

[Yanov] What is the sense of the left-center coalition I am proposing and about which I have already written? The problem is that the country has two leaders. One of them has tremendous political capital in the West, and the other—here, at home. We need to unite these two reserves of capital in order to use them for the good of perestroyka. How should that be done? I believe that we need to create a Nongovernmental International Conciliation Committee made up of authorities respected in the country and abroad; by force of its prestige the committee would guarantee the irreversibility of agreements between the two leaders. If one of them wants to "renege," it would no longer be a conflict with the other leader but rather a conflict with the world.

A joint Soviet-U.S. committee would be able to minimize such a conflict. This would be done so that the whole process of reform might finally become irreversible. After all, previously everything in your country was reversible. This amazing political reversibility makes the Russian political process unique. This is why the question of arbitration and a left-center coalition comes up.

[Shmelev] I believe that it is correct to put the question that way. For the moment there are still opportunities for a left- center coalition. And some kind of authoritative arbitration is also needed, undoubtedly.

[Yanov] Opportunities? Why do you believe that?

[Shmelev] Primarily because of Gorbachev's position in regard to programs of economic reform. Remember, he said unambiguously that his preference was with the program of Shatalin and Yavlinskiy. I am confident that he was sincere.

[Yanov] Moreover, Gorbachev even said that there is an administration program and there is a presidential program. That is, he apparently contrasted himself with the administration. You will agree that the logical step would be to dismiss that administration.

[Shmelev] In essence that will be done, although not in a dramatic fashion but in a manner that will "save face." It is the same result, but without shaking up everything and everyone. But there is a second question. Having carefully studied (since July) all the economic programs, I have come to the conclusion that a compromise, a joint program of radical economic reform for the transition to the market, is possible. With one condition: We must be guided by economic interests and not play at who will have power. But when I visited all these meetings... One commission says, "Hand over power." The other says, "We will not hand it over..."

[Yanov] Did personal interests dominate?

[Shmelev] No, supposedly practical arguments dominated, but it sounded like the same old song to me: The old team does not want any kind of combined approach for one reason, and the new team—for another. Some of the latter are nursing hurt feelings, others have their ambitions, and some are only 32 years old—the oldest is 37! "The circle of these revolutionaries is small. They are terribly distant from the people." Whom should we choose? I can name five more or less famous names, but this is no joke... Tremendous presence will be required of them, and they need to be accustomed to power and command. In Russia this man must almost be a dictator,

someone ruling the state machine confidently. Second, authority is needed. Authority at the street level. Whatever your opinion of Shatalin may be, the crowd does not know him and cannot trust him. We need some person who is equivalent to the task. Gorbachev himself cannot break through this wall alone. Especially as there will be dozens of such walls. I am not at all convinced that this reform will succeed without the sledgehammer, without pressure, and without, forgive me, a firm hand. In short, at present I do not see anyone except Boris Yeltsin.

[Yanov] To head the administration?

[Shmelev] Yes. As for how they will share power later, in two or three years, let them figure it out for themselves. But for now they are in the same boat. They are connected. Whether they like one another or not, they are obligated to close ranks. Otherwise everything is going to collapse. Let Gorbachev be involved with politics. He has distinguished himself, not just in the West but here as well. It should not be forgotten that it was he who started this business. Let him carry it further. But there is no one to really embody reform except Yeltsin.

[Yanov] I do not have any basic objections to that. Just one correction. I have not conversed with Gorbachev, but I see that he has an idea. He has already realized that a left-center coalition is not a fantasy but a means of survival. But at the same time he understands very well that Polozkov is also a reality. As a result, he would say to you, "A left-center coalition is good, but a larger national coalition and national harmony are also good and also correct." Gorbachev proceeds from both premises: He understands that he must go with Yeltsin, and at the same time he thinks that he can do business wholesale: "Come on, boys, let us pull together." Under such conditions it is simply inconceivable that there can be any kind of reasonable result. All nationalist patriots are isolationists, from Polozkov to Ostashvili. They know only one thing: We have our own path, the Russian path. We do not have anything in common with Europe. Europe wants to eat us, to cut us up into bits and digest us. And the other team is, of course, the Westernizers. (Although when I say "Westernizers," they warn me from all sides, "Please do not say that word. Why stir things up?") For the time being the president thinks that both contending teams can be united into one, whether they want to be or not. It seems to me that this is where his philosophical mistake originates. In general he is a most talented, brilliant man. But he is also an apparatchik. He fears a split in the country; and after all, the ethnic culture divided and split 500 years ago. Gorbachev and perestroyka have only made the split apparent. Gorbachev is afraid to look at the face of reality.

[Shmelev] Permit me to say something in regard to this whole argument. I would like to make three points. The first point. You, as a historian, can think in terms of decades or at least in five-year periods, whereas I, an economist, cannot. I think in terms of months, perhaps of a maximum of one or two years. I do not attempt to predict what will happen in 10 years. For me that is a question of faith. Sakharov, it seems, said that in any case the country will be alive. The country is alive and will somehow extricate itself. But the next two years frighten me. Not even three, but two at the most. Even with all my liberalism and repulsion to any form of totalitarianism and violence from my youth onward, I have sincerely become a partisan of the state for this period. I can only say one thing: If the Lord has not damned us, then the only way we can be dragged out of this hole today is by a genuinely strong state authority that is directed toward good.

[Yanov] And by unification with the European family.

[Shmelev] That is something again. That will be the third point. But now I want to mention the second. Perhaps it will shock you, but I should say that I am very sad when I see how impotent the leftist democrats have turned out to be. Everything was splendid. Theoretically, according to the declarations. But real life... They are not in command of it and they do not know what to do with it. Here is an example, here are two pairs for you: Popov-Stankevich, and Sobchak-Shchelkanov. It is an experiment that life has set up. Sobchak evokes the most sincere sympathy in me. I have also treated Popov seriously inasmuch as he is the most efficient of them. But I see that they cannot do anything; they are impotent. I imagined—as a sort of fancy—Gavriil Kharitonovich somewhere in a basement. All the godfathers of Moscow are sitting there: The godfather of garbage collection, the godfather of vegetables, the godfather of electricity, of water, of apartments, etc. And he talks to them this way: "Look, fellows, everything is all right. We are going to take care of you. But the people also need a break once in a while. Give them a little help. Let us talk about it."

[Yanov] Are you talking about some kind of mafia structure?

[Shmelev] The state-trade-criminal structures which we have created across the years. Perhaps I am exaggerating, but that was the way things were done in the Moscow Soviet for decades. Now the new Moscow Soviet, it seems, is hiring up those same apparatchiks, who are remaining in the same old structures that have existed for decades. In order to pull them down we need to work, not talk on and on. The leaders of the various services have nothing but scorn for all that talk from the podiums. They say, "Okay, you think one of us is a scoundrel... Well, go ahead and make a big fuss about it. Get 100,000 people behind you at a rally. What of it? Even after all that, your life is still in our hands." It was necessary to come to an understanding with these people. And someone should know how to come to an understanding and overcome them. Then they will begin to sacrifice one of their own—first one, then another, then every fifteenth person. As my late father used to say, "It is not the same with scoundrels as it is with fools—it is possible to live with scoundrels. At least it is possible to come to an agreement with them about something."

I have been waiting for such an agreement. I have been waiting for Gavriil Kharitonovich to get right down to business: Here are three hairdresser shops for you and some stores, he would say. But he keeps on saying that we need a concept. What kind of concept? The house is burning, it is falling in. We need to put it out faster! Even the smallest business deal is worth more than any of your rallies or scandals. But, unfortunately, I do not see any special progress here. Allow me another example. Discussion of the 500-days program is underway with Gorbachev in attendance. We sit and wrangle for seven hours. Suddenly his secretary approaches, puts a note for him on the table, and he says, "Look, boys, I am discussing the fate of Russia with you, and Stankevich telephones: He says, 'Mikhail Sergeyevich, help! Moscow is raiding the tobacco kiosks.'" Here it is, the whole strength of our democracy. They could not save two kiosks from the fire, and they immediately appeal to the tsar: "Lord emperor, save us!" Here it is, reality. They drown him in declarations, but as soon as something happens requiring action, they insist on appealing directly to the Kremlin. For me this was a devastating stroke. Popov and Stankevich acknowledged not only that they allowed the tobacco crisis but that they had not come to an agreement with the "godfathers." And do not forget that the mafia has also taken over the entire trade in alcohol. True, that was the mistake of Ligachev and all of his "teetotalers" over the preceding five years. Now the democrats cannot be able to get themselves out of the tobacco crisis or any other crisis so long as there is no market. Sobchak cannot even handle his own soviet—each wants the blanket to himself, and they make all kinds of noise even though the time for that is long past. We only have several months left. If we do not do anything, we will have called down the dictatorship ourselves. Perhaps it is not months but one and a half years—although that is being too optimistic in my opinion. That is why I currently put my hopes in a firm state hand. But a benevolent hand.

[Yanov] Is Yeltsin that hand?

[Shmelev] For me, the two men are already inseparable. Separately Gorbachev and Yeltsin are only able to give rise to paralysis. They paralyze one another. Only jointly will they be able to break through these monstrous walls of opposition. We can adopt a wonderful program. The International Monetary Fund can sign the program. But as soon as it is implemented... How many layers of opposition! Aleksandr Lvovich, you know our ways. The first layer is terrible: The middle-level management, the city management, all of it is corrupt, all of it is mafia bosses who hold the cooperatives in their hand and impose a preliminary tax on them in an instant. Do you know that the opening bribe for one square meter of uninhabited lodging runs 1,500 rubles [R] and upward? For a sewing shop of 100 square meters you must pay the rayispolkom [rayon executive committee] and the militia R150,000 in bribes alone! It is clear that these people are going to sabotage things, and sabotage them horribly. The second level. It is an enormous level, on the order of many millions of people, and no one knows what to do with it. This is the whole distribution network which maintains both today's state and, at the same time, the trade sector itself.

I believe that there are many good people in this layer, but the objective situation is such that all of them today have an interest in preserving state trade, shortages, and pilfering. A classic example is the vegetable service sector. It is a madhouse. Put one man in charge, then another, as many as you want, and the vegetable sector will still only have an interest in letting 70 percent of the produce rot. And it makes its money on the remaining 30 percent. These 18 million people are going to oppose change to the last. Of course they will buy up the first five or so stores for appearances sake so that they will be left alone. But then things will get messy... They will not give up their profits. They will paralyze everything. You have to take a sledgehammer to them too.

[Yanov] But Yeltsin acts on the all-Union stage in this situation while Popov acts on the Moscow stage.

[Shmelev] Resoluteness is needed here. I do not see such resoluteness and firmness in Gavriil Kharitonovich. In this case either you take charge or you are lost. Either you get them under control or there will be a military revolt in 18 months.

[Yanov] Is it necessary to squeeze them?

[Shmelev] It is necessary to squeeze them and at the same time to give full freedom to their potential competitors! Full freedom. There must not be any obstacles. If you wish to open a store, open it. Sell a wholesale service sector into private hands once you have broken the opposition. A cooperative wishes to buy it—so much the better! You do not like them? Is party rule better? In general it will be necessary to use a sledgehammer in some places and to give freedom to competing forces in others. And as quickly as possible—in a week, in two weeks. The only thing that can break up their opposition is real competition. And political protection should be guaranteed to that competition. The next level of opposition is the countryside—there are 4 million people out there who carry a briefcase for their livelihood. Let us suppose that half of them are good people. But even they do not know how to do anything besides carry a briefcase. These 4 million will fight to the death. They will fight. Starodubtsev is almost a political leader among them. What should we do with them? Break them up with a sledgehammer as well. What of the population's reaction? The corrupt portion, the dishonest portion of the population? Perhaps the system is to blame for their corruption, not they, but these people do not wish to work. They see their hard-working neighbor earning good money and they are ready to murder him. They will burn out their neighbor. And in this case it is not admonishments that are needed but militia detachments. State protection of each private farmer.

[Yanov] In what fashion?

[Shmelev] As you wish. Let us suppose that you cannot put a guard on each farm. Well then, put those who have burned it down on public trial. So that everyone will understand that the authorities are protecting the private farmer, not the arsonist. These levels of opposition will go into action literally the day after adoption of the best program.

And, finally, the third point. In this instance I am in agreement with you. I am very impressed by your approach to the categories of isolationism. And the fact that you accuse the West and the Western intelligentsia of shortsightedness is a matter of bitter joy for me: Three years ago I was proclaiming that all by myself. And now even Shatalin publicly admits in New York that "a year ago I did not agree with Shmelev, and now I do." About what? About the fact that you will get practically nothing done without the support of the entire world and without a mass injection of funds, which should have a double function: psychological and economic. The psychological function is for people who no longer believe in anyone on the daily level—neither Yeltsin, Ryzhkov, nor Gorbachev—and who may believe any charlatan. They should be given even a little hope, some sort of feeling that life is not getting worse but has turned upward even if only a little bit. Let it be artificial, but during this period of transition nothing will happen without such hope.

[Yanov] I agree.

[Shmelev] And the only way there will be hope is if we are helped for 1 year or 18 months. No more than that. And no charity. It should come with conditions: Give us a program and show us your determination to genuinely repair your house, and we will support you.

[Yanov] Aid not as an element of reform but as its support.

[Shmelev] On this point I will support you every way I can. If only it were possible to organize some kind of powerful intellectual pressure on the people of the West as well: Wake up! If this monster collapses, it will pull the entire world into the hole with it. That is terrible for you too. After all, not so much is needed. Only kopeks are needed by international standards. The country is poor to an extreme. To sustain it even for 18 months to two years we need 25-30 billion. That is quite enough to create the feeling that life is turned upward. It will have a psychological effect. And the economic side is the entire basis of the reform. All these complicated Eiffel Towers, all these Shatalin-Yavlinskiys, everything is based on one thing—on a functioning ruble. If the ruble does not function, no one needs it and this is all an academic game, an empty occupation. And the ruble is paralyzed. At present neither the people nor the enterprises need it. You probably know it from the Moscow taxis. You know that you can ride either for a package of cigarettes or for a "million" rubles. The ruble should be resuscitated, and then it will begin to recover on its own. Of course there is a condition again—the smallest possible budget deficit. Turn the printing machines off. That is an obligatory condition. But the ruble again can only be resuscitated with that injection of funds which we talked about. To do as Stalin did in 1947—to simply pillage a whole country—is beyond the powers of Gorbachev, Yeltsin, or Ryzhkov.

[Yanov] What about these "godfathers," as you call them? I do not know whether or not they are millionaires, but some sort of strategy is also needed.

[Shmelev] I may be saying something wicked, but they must be legalized

[Yanov] If they are legalized, will they work for reform or against it?

[Shmelev] If there is normal money, if it is possible for them to open their own stores or companies, if they are given state guarantees... I do not know many of that type of people. Yes, they are criminals, but they dream of being respectable people. Give them the opportunity to be that. We say that they want a "Mercedes" and swans at a dacha—give them their swans and "Mercedes."

[Yanov] And what will the people on the street say as they look at those swans?

[Shmelev] Just be patient, boys. Be patient, friends. Later you will go into a store for milk, meat, sausage, and pantyhose—and they will be on the shelves and counters. The situation will balance out.

[Yanov] Will it balance itself out?

[Shmelev] It will. The way it happened in the 1920's.

[Yanov] It seems to me that the reformers of the 1920's perished precisely because they were not able to balance things out.

[Shmelev] This is a point you and I do not agree on. In the 1920's the mess won out and the normal people accepted the NEP [New Economic Policy].

[Yanov] They accepted them, and nonetheless... At rallies of the OFT [United Workers Front] the speakers say, "There are 200- 300 of us here, while the democrats are able to gather 100,000- 200,000 each time. But let them introduce private property, let inequality develop, and then you will see that we will have 100,000- 200,000 and they will have 200-300."

[Shmelev] They will turn out to be right if there is no shock absorber.

[Yanov] What kind of shock absorber?

[Shmelev] We need the aid of the West. I do not see any other shock absorbers. There are no others at present. No slogans about justice and no forms of compensation will do.

[Yanov] Aid from the West for a couple of years while the difficult period is underway, and then later, by the grace of God, something may turn up?

[Shmelev] The process of recovery will go quietly. I should even say resuscitation, not recovery. Over those 18 months the half-dead man will lower his feet from the bed and make a few steps. For now he is paralyzed.

[Yanov] Here is my scenario. I am looking at this terrible winter which is approaching. I see the danger that children will freeze. There will simply be no hot water or heat. And the electricity may be turned off for a day or two... And the sewer system may break down. Hungry crowds will appear and will tear down the stores and storehouses. And nothing will help. Blood will simply begin to flow. In Moscow and Leningrad. Everywhere. Nonetheless, I think that if the government were to open up its granaries (and there are strategic reserves of food), it would be enough to bring order for the one winter, which must be endured. (As you see, I think in terms of a week, and not at all of five-year periods.) After that, I believe, there will be a respite for several years.

[Shmelev] There will be no respite if serious injections of Western aid do not take place. But I would like to say that my feeling tells me we still have enough for this winter.

[Yanov] God grant.

[Shmelev] There is just enough food, and as for fuel... I believe that in any case we will make it through this winter.

[Yanov] Let me compare it with other examples. During the revolution in 1905-1907 in Russia, people shot one another and there were barricades and so on. Then there was a respite, normalization, and it even seemed that it was all over. So, this first crisis which we expect this winter will only be a consumer and administrative crisis. Really, the genuine crisis is still to come. The same way that 1917 came after 1907. And like 1919 and 1923 in Germany: The financial system collapsed entirely. It was even worse than what is happening in your country. Then 1933 arrived. As a result, I develop this scenario in three separate stages each requiring completely different strategies. The first is a matter of weeks. Here I am completely in agreement with you. To survive, to survive at any price. Then the middle-term stage. It can be overcome using your own resources, without the West. But it is getting late. If only you had gotten moving at the beginning of the year, in January! Even then I proposed that a goods shield be created. But... The government was silent, and no one did anything. For this reason I say if only there were a united Soviet-American committee, an embodiment of authority, and it introduced a proposal—not me, not you, not Shatalin, but, so to say, a collective representation of the intellectual potential of the world. But, unfortunately, that has not taken place.

[Shmelev] Aleksandr Lvovich, I like your idea very much. Except that I do not know how it can be carried out. The idea itself, even the search for a neutral arbitrator, has great potential. If it were not for the unusual nature of that idea, I would seize our leaders on the spot. It is a good idea, a good one, but... Do you believe in its reality?

[Yanov] I simply do not see any other way out. Perhaps because I am proceeding from the previous experience. From the experience of all Russian reforms. I do not see any ray of hope without that arbitration judge.

[Yanov] One that enjoys authority and offers a safety valve, the light at the end of the tunnel that you mentioned. I do not have any differences with you here. I do not object, I simply add something. I say that at the middle-term stage the country needs to search for a sponsor, a serious sponsor. Look, all of our equipment here is falling apart. It is dying a natural death. Yes, true, there is the mafia. But is it to blame that, for instance, the tobacco factories and other enterprises have antediluvian equipment? In any case all of this should be completely and radically modernized. Russia is looking forward to a fourth industrialization.

[Shmelev] Yes. Except that this industrialization will take 20 years. And in this instance it is not you and I who are right, but Yuriy Yaremenko, economist and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who says that there are three tasks: Conversion, then structural perestroyka, and then the creation of judicial and economic conditions for a new life, in particular convertibility of the currency for freedom of movement of capital. And for the import of capital to be the norm, as it is everywhere else in the world. This has something in common with your Western idea: For us to open ourselves to the world. Isolationism will not lead to any good. It is like a black hole everything falls into.

[Yanov] Undoubtedly.

[Shmelev] We need to open up the doors. The whole world has long been intertwined like a rope doormat. The movement of capital from country to country? There is nothing interesting in that—it is a common, mundane thing. It will go on forever. Those borders were swept away long ago. And it will not trouble anyone when some Japanese industrialist financier opens a bank in Moscow and invests his money, for example, in Soviet machinebuilding, inasmuch as it will become the norm. And that is what we need. It is the normal, boring, uninteresting movement of capital.

[Yanov] But I am thinking about something completely different. Why not demonopolize the Near East? Why not create competition for it—in Siberia? The Soviet Union is the largest producer of oil in the world even today.

[Shmelev] And it has the largest reserves. In ravaged Siberia we have only taken 20-25 percent of the oil. The remaining 75 percent are in the earth.

[Yanov] Correct. Because there is no capital investment, because there is no technology, and because there is no management. So? The Japanese can give us all that. They simply have nowhere to put their money... Therefore we must go to the Japanese.

[Shmelev] Should we give away the islands?

[Yanov] Yes. I have told the young diplomats not to talk with the rusty Japanese liberal democrats. They have been in power so long that they have no imagination left. They do not have any dreams or energy to come out on a world scale and do what the United States did after World War II. Go to the opposition. Currently there is an unstable political situation in Japan: The opposition is a step away from power. Go to the socialists. Propose some concrete ideas before the arrival of Gorbachev. Let the Japanese build several cities with the most modern standards of civilization in the northern Kurils. And then create high-paying jobs there. In short, so that people will want to go there because they will not find such living conditions not only in the Soviet Union, but anywhere else in the world. On such grounds one might be able to counter your conservatives who cry that the democrats are selling off Russia. Although that, of course, is only the first step. The Japanese should invest money not only in the demonopolization of the Near East. They should invest money in the radical modernization of the Soviet economy as well as in Eastern Europe. They have enough money for everyone. The Americans created the free world in order to become its leaders. But in what way are the Japanese any worse? And in what way is the Soviet Union any worse over the long term?

[Shmelev] If one wants to be practical, it seems to me that the next meeting of the Big Seven should be dedicated to just this problem. But far more important for us is to gain the consciousness that we are no worse than any other people on this planet. And we simply need to achieve what the others have achieved.

Moscow Plans To Return Historical Names

LD2612060990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0230 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] The Soviet Culture Fund has decided to allocate approximately 300,000 rubles needed for returning historical names to Moscow's streets. Hundreds of streets were renamed during the years of Soviet power. Recently, Moscow City Soviet adopted a decision on returning the age-old names to a number of squares, streets, and lanes. Some citizens spoke out against this, as did Ivan Polozkov, the leader of the Russian communists. Academician Dmitriy Likhachev, chairman of the Soviet Culture Fund, welcomed the return of the names of memorable places to the map of Moscow. The history of the capital is alive in them. They will become that little morsel of memory and part of the flow of cultural revival, said Likhachev.

New TV Program Magazine Goes on Sale

LD2612215390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Dec 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The first edition of SEM DNEY [SEVEN DAYS], the new weekly of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, has been issued, is going on sale, and is reaching subscribers. I have it here in my hands. Starting from the New Year all editions of the weekly GOVORIT I POKAZYVAYET MOSKVA—and there are 13 of them for various regions of the country—will come out under this title, SEM DNEY. The first edition carries the television and radio programs from 31 December—here I am showing you the first days—to 6 January. Central Television has prepared New Year programs for you. These include Ostankino Ball, New Year Musical Night, New Year Discotheque, and many, many others. The new weekly tells you in detail about these and many other programs of the New Year week. Here, I leaf through it. The pages are very well presented. I show it you once again. It is called SEM DNEY.

New Magazine on European Culture Announced

LD2612205890 Moscow TASS in English 2032 GMT 26 Dec 90

[By TASS correspondent Roman Grigoryev]

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—A new literary, social and political magazine, FENIX, will focus on European culture and a search for ways of bringing Europeans closer together. The periodical will be published in Moscow.

"The first issue is ready to go to press," the magazine editor-in-chief, writer Vladimir Ognev, told TASS. "It will be a quarterly and printed by the printshop of the Soviet-German publishing enterprise 'Entire Moscow'."

The first issues is devoted to the culture of East European countries. It opens with extracts from works by Nobel Prize winners—Aleksandr Solzhenitsin, Boris Pasternak, Ivo Andric and Czeslaw Milosz.

FENIX is an organ of the "European Forum" writers' association, a non-governmental organisation, the founding meeting was held in Moscow last month.

"The story of its establishment is as follows: Early this year a group of Soviet writers called on all European men of letters to pool their efforts to enter the 21st century guided by the principles of a non-violent and interdependent world free from racial, class and religious prejudices," Ognev said.

The idea of European Forum was supported by men of culture in various countries and major scientific centers, including the Bochum and Heidelberg universities in Germany.

New Russian Trade Union Officially Recognized

LD2612220590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] [Announcer] A regular plenum of the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions today officially recognized the Union of Television and Radio Broadcasting Workers. Viktor Petrovich Plotnikov, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the new trade union association, has given an interview to one of our correspondents:

[Begin recording] [Plotnikov] The regular congress of the Russian Union of Television and Radio Broadcasting Workers founded a union for workers in this area on Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic territory. Both Russian television and radio and sections of USSR state television and radio [Gosteleradio] which are in Russia are part of it.

The main task - and this was the leitmotif of the whole congress in the speeches of artistic and technical workers and other workers in television and radio broadcasting—was the fullest implementation of the professional interests of people working in our sphere. The state position of our workers is the reorganization of the structure and changing the heads of the Gosteleradio system. Certain presidential and USSR Supreme Soviet decrees simply frighten our workers. We see the creation of the new union as a guarantee of protection not only against social upheavals, against the economy—we will certainly try to achieve protection against the market since we are a state enterprise; we are in fact part of the state budget—but also against the arbitrary rule of higher bodies.

[Correspondent] If you want to use this platform what would you like to say to our colleagues?

[Plotnikov] Everyone should begin to think and understand unions in a new way, that is actually the defense of professional rights. If people have faith and if we, the new union, by our actions show the strength of a professional association, then we will get new members, and we will do everything in order to protect to the maximum degree the members of the union, of each enterprise, association, and organization, and of each union member in the first place.

[Correspondent] What will your leading center be like?

[Plotnikov] As such, there is no leading center. There is the Coordinating Council of the Russian Union of Television and Radio Broadcasting Workers, in which there are representatives of union organizations and associations from all the country's regions and all television and radio committees and television and radio centers. That is, it is not elected, it is not a superstructure. It is a normal working body, sufficiently democratic. [end recording]

Economic

Legislation on Investment Activity Published

914A0212A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 90 Union Edition p 2

["Fundamentals of Legislation on Investment Activity in the USSR" signed Soviet President M.S. Gorbachev in the Kremlin in Moscow on 10 December]

[Text] The present fundamentals determine the general legal, economic, and social conditions for investment activity on the territory of the USSR. They are directed toward providing for equal protection of the rights, interests, and property of subjects of investment activity, irrespective of the forms of ownership, and toward effective functioning of the USSR national economy under the conditions of a market economy.

I. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1. Investments

Investments are all kinds of property and intellectual values invested in objects of entrepreneurship and other kinds of activity which result in the formation of profit (income) or the achievement of a social effect.

These values may be:

monetary funds, special-purpose bank deposits, shares, stocks, and other securities;
personal and real property (buildings, structures, equipment, and other material values);
property rights ensuing from copyrights, "know-how," experience, and other intellectual values;
rights to use land and other natural resources and also other property rights;
other values.

Investments in the reproduction of fixed capital may be made in the form of capital investments.

Article 2. Investment Activity

1. Investment activity is understood to mean the totality of practical actions of citizens, corporate bodies, and the state for making investments.

2. Investment activity is conducted on the basis of:

investing by citizens, nonstate enterprises, economic associations, societies, and communities, and also regional organizations and other corporate bodies based on collective ownership;
state investing done by organs of power and administration of the USSR, Union and autonomous republics, autonomous okrugs and oblasts, and other administrative-territorial formations with funds from budgets, nonbudget funds and borrowed money, and also by state enterprises and institutions with their own or borrowed money;
investing by foreign citizens, corporate bodies, and states;

joint investing by Soviet and foreign citizens and corporate bodies and states.

Article 3. Objects of Investment Activity

Objects of investment activity are newly created and modernized fixed capital and circulating capital in all branches and spheres of the national economy, securities, special-purpose money deposits, scientific and technical products, intellectual values, and other objects of ownership and also property rights.

It is prohibited to invest in objects whose creation and use do not meet the requirements of sanitary-hygienic, ecological, and other norms established by legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics, and also those that cause harm to legally protected rights and interests of citizens, corporate bodies, and the state.

Article. 4. Subjects of Investment Activity

1. Subjects (investors and participants) of investment activity may be Soviet and foreign citizens and corporate bodies and states.

2. Investors are subjects of investment activity who make decisions to invest their own, borrowed, or outside property and intellectual values.

Investors may play the role of depositors, creditors, and buyers, and may also perform the functions of any participant in investment activity.

3. Soviet and foreign citizens and corporate bodies who provide for investments as fillers of orders or on the basis of instructions from the investor are participants in investment activity.

Article 5. Legislation of the USSR, Union, and Autonomous Republics on Investment Activity

Relations involved in conducting investment activity in the USSR are regulated by the present Fundamentals and legislative acts of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics published in keeping with them.

Investment activity is regulated:

for Soviet subjects abroad—by the legislation of the country on whose territory this activity is being carried out, the appropriate international agreements, and also special legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics;

for foreign subjects in the USSR and also Soviet and foreign subjects in free economic zones in the USSR—by the present Fundamentals and special legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics.

II. CONDUCTING INVESTMENT ACTIVITY

Article 6. Investors' Rights

1. All investors have equal rights in conducting investment activity.

The investor's use of property and intellectual values for investment in objects not prohibited by the present Fundamentals or other legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics is recognized as their inalienable right without any restrictions and is protected by the law.

2. The investor independently determines the volumes, areas, and effectiveness of the investments and, at his own discretion, enlists on a contractual basis citizens and corporate bodies he needs to carry out his investments.

3. By a decision of the investor, the rights to ownership, use, and disposal of investments and the results obtained from them may be transferred to other citizens and corporate bodies in keeping with the procedure established by law. Relations among parties involved in this kind of transfer of rights are regulated on the basis of contracts.

4. Financial funds in the form of credit, securities issued according to the procedure established by law, and loans may be used for investment.

The investor may use his property for satisfying his commitments. The only property used for collateral is that which is owned by the borrower or belongs to him with the rights of sole economic control unless otherwise stipulated by legislative acts of the USSR or the Union or autonomous republics. If the loan commitments are violated the mortgaged property may be sold according to the procedure established by legislation.

5. The investor has the right to possess, use, and dispose of the objects and results of investments, including reinvestment and trade operations on the territory of the USSR, in keeping with legislative acts of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics.

Legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics may determine objects in which one may invest without acquiring the right to possess them, but this does not rule out the possibility of the subsequent possession, operational control, or participation of the investor in the incomes from the operation of these objects.

6. The investor has the right to acquire the property he needs from citizens and corporate bodies directly or through intermediaries at prices and under conditions determined by the contract between the parties, if this does not contradict legislation, without restrictions on volume or assortment.

Article 7. Relations Among Subjects of Investment Activity

1. The basic legal document regulating relations among subjects of investment activity is the contract (agreement).

The conclusion of contracts, the selection of partners, the determination of commitments, and any other conditions of economic relations that do not contradict legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics are the exclusive domain of the subjects of investment activity. Interference by state organs and officials in the realization of contractual relations among subjects of investment activity beyond their competence is not allow.

Subjects of investment activity have the right to organize competitions (auctions) to enlist citizens and corporate bodies in investment activity.

2. The conditions of the contracts concluded among subjects of investment activity continue to be in effect throughout the entire period during which the contract is in effect, even in cases where, after they are concluded, conditions which worsen the position of the subjects are established by legislation, unless they have reached an agreement to change the conditions of the contract.

Article 8. Duties of Subjects of Investment Activity

1. In cases and according to the procedure established by legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics, the investor must:

submit to the financial organs a declaration of the volumes and sources of investments he has made;
obtain the necessary permissions and agreements from the appropriate authorities and special services for capital construction;
obtain expert evaluations of investment plans with respect to observance of sanitary-hygienic and ecological requirements.

2. Subjects of investment activity must:

observe the norms and standards established according to the procedure determined by legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics;
not allow cases of unfair competition and meet the requirements of anti-monopoly legislation;
meet requirements of state organs and officials imposed within the limits of their competence;
submit bookkeeping and statistical reports according to the established procedure.

3. Each participant in investment activity performing special kinds of work which require the corresponding certification of the worker should have a license to perform the given kind of work. The list of these jobs and the procedure for licensing are established by legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics.

Article 9. Sources of Financing Investment Activity

Investment activity may be carried out with:

the private financial resources of the investor (profit, amortization deductions, monetary accumulations and savings of citizens and corporate bodies, and others);
borrowed financial funds of investors (funded loans, bank and budget credit);
financial funds raised by the investor (funds obtained from the sale of shares and shared and other contributions of citizens and corporate bodies);
budget investment allocations.

III. STATE REGULATION OF INVESTMENT ACTIVITY

Article 10. Purposes and Forms of State Regulation of Investment Activity

1. State regulation of investment activity is carried out for the purposes of implementing the economic, scientific-technical, and social policy. It is determined by the plans and programs for the development of the national economy approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics, the budgets of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics, and the volumes of state financing envisioned in them.

Moreover, beneficial conditions are created for investors engaged in investment activity in areas that are most important for the satisfaction of public needs and above all in the social sphere, the technical improvement of production, and the introduction of discoveries and inventions.

2. State regulation of investment activity includes regulation of the conditions for investment activity and direct control of state investments.

Article 11. State Regulation of Conditions for Investment Activity

State regulation of conditions for investment activity is provided by state organs of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics in keeping with legislation:

by a tax system with differentiation of subjects and objects of taxation, tax rates, and tax breaks. For purposes of regulating investment demand, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics may introduce differentiated taxes on investments;
by implementing an amortization policy, including through accelerated amortization of fixed capital. Moreover benefits on amortization may be differentiated for individual branches and spheres of the economy, elements of fixed capital, and kinds of equipment;
by granting financial aid in the form of endowments, subsidies, subventions, and budget loans for development of individual regions, branches, and productions;
by means of implementing the credit policy, state norms and standards, anti-monopoly measures, privatization of state property, including incomplete construction, and the price setting policy;
by conditions for the use of land and other natural resources;
by providing expert evaluations of investment plans.

As economic methods of state regulation of investment activity it is possible to use nonbudget investment capital formed according to the procedure established by legislative acts of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics and also funds for supporting small enterprises.

Article 12. Direct Control of State Investments

Direct control of state investments is provided by state organs of the USSR, the Union and autonomous republics, autonomous okrugs and oblasts, and the local soviets of people's deputies, and includes planning, determination of conditions, and performance of specific actions for investing money from the budget and nonbudget funds and other funds enlisted on a voluntary basis.

Article 13. Interaction Among the USSR, the Union and Autonomous Republics and the Local Soviets of People's Deputies in Investment Activity

The interaction of the USSR, the Union and autonomous republics, and the local soviets of people's deputies in investment activity is carried out:

by the USSR through the development in conjunction with the republics of prospects for the country's development, the drawing up and implementation of Union programs, the formation in conjunction with the Union and autonomous republics on a voluntary basis of funds for regional development, and reserve, innovation, environmental protection, and other all-Union funds for financing all-Union and interrepublic scientific and technical, economic, social, agrarian, environmental protection, and other programs, and also work for preventing and cleaning up after natural disasters, catastrophes, and emergencies;

by the Union and autonomous republics through participation in the development of statewide programs for the development of the economy and ways of implementing them, and also through regulation of investment activity on the territory of the republic with the observance of legislative acts of the USSR and the Union republics. The Union and autonomous republics on their territory and within the limits of their competence establish the procedure for implementation and provide for protection of investments;

by local soviets of people's deputies through the development and approval of plans for socioeconomic development of the territory within the limits of their authority, and also through coordination of questions of creating economic and social objects, utilizing natural resources, and protecting the environment on the corresponding territory.

Article 14. Procedure for Adoption of Decisions on Union State Investments

1. Decisions about state investments are made on the basis of predictions of the economic and social development of the USSR and the plans for development and distribution of productive forces, target scientific-technical and comprehensive Union programs, and technical-economic substantiations that determine the expediency of these investments.

2. The plans for comprehensive programs of Union significance are developed according to the procedure determined by the USSR Council of Ministers and with the participation of the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics, interested state organs, and social organizations, and are submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers to the USSR Supreme Soviet for consideration.

3. As a part of the state plan for the economic and social development of the USSR, the USSR Supreme Soviet approves capital investments for the creation of large national economic complexes that are included in the list of objects of the Union state order and also the volumes of investments from the Union republics.

4. In planning Union investments, the USSR Council of Ministers with the participation of the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics, makes sure that they agree in terms of the volumes of investments necessary for implementing the comprehensive target programs of Union significance and the Union state order by the established deadlines.

5. Allocations from the Union budget are made only for the most important projects of the Union state order and the implementation of all-Union programs.

A separate part of the budget is a special financial program for development which determines expenditures on the implementation of investment measures.

The forms of the use of funds from the financial program for development may be either subject or not subject to repayment.

6. Joint investment with the participation of Union state investments is carried out according to the procedure established by the present Fundamentals for making Union state investments.

Article 15. Expert Evaluation and Approval of Union State Investments in Capital Construction

1. Plans for the construction of objects with Union state investments are subject to a mandatory state expert evaluation, including making sure that they meet the requirements of anti-monopoly legislation, the procedure for which is established by the USSR Council of Ministers.

2. Expert evaluations of plans for comprehensive target programs of Union significance and also the largest and most important objects of the Union state order are conducted by expert commissions created by a decision of the USSR Council of Ministers, which include representatives of scientific, social, and other organizations and the corresponding regions, and foreign specialists may also be enlisted.

3. Plans for comprehensive target programs and the largest and most important objects of the Union state order are submitted for the approval of the USSR Supreme Soviet along with the conclusions of the expert commissions.

4. The approval of the Union state order for the construction of facilities comes after the coordination of their distribution with the republic and local state organs according to the procedure established by legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics.

Article 16. Procedure for Distribution of Union State Orders for Capital Construction

1. One of the forms of implementing state investments is the Union state order for capital construction.

2. The Union state order in capital construction is issued for the creation of production capacities or objects with an indication of the deadlines for starting them up.

3. The Union state order, as a rule, is distributed on a competitive basis. In certain cases the USSR Council of Ministers has a right to establish Union orders for all state enterprises and organizations that participate in investment activity, taking into account the economic advantages of these orders for enterprises and organizations.

4. The distribution of the Union state order, by a decision of the USSR Council of Ministers, may be made the responsibility of the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics with their agreement and the Union organs of state control.

5. Any participant in investment activity has the right to participate in competitions for state orders for capital construction.

6. Objects of the Union state order are accepted for operation according to the procedure established by the USSR Council of Ministers.

7. The final accounts with the contractors for objects of the Union state order are settled after the approval of the documents by the State Commission.

Article 17. Procedure for Making Union State Investments in Securities, Deposits, Personal and Real Property, and Other Values.

1. The volumes of Union state investments for the planned period in securities, deposits, real and personal property, and other values are approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

2. Investment plans for the aforementioned areas go through a state expert evaluation according to the procedure established by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Article 18. The Activity for Implementing Republic and Communal State Investments

Republic and communal state investment is carried out in keeping with the present Fundamentals and legislation of Union and autonomous republics.

Article 19. Price Setting in Investment Activity

The value of the output (work, services) in the process of investment activity is determined according to contractual prices, including according to the results of competitions (auctions), and in cases envisioned by legislative acts of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics—at state prices.

The contractual price in construction is determined using recommended state estimates of norms and prices.

IV. GUARANTEES OF RIGHTS AND PROTECTION OF INVESTMENTS

Article 20. Guarantees of the Rights of Subjects of Investment Activity

1. The state guarantees the stability of the rights of subjects of investment activity. In cases of the adoption of acts of legislation whose provisions limit the rights of subjects of investment activity, the corresponding provisions of these acts may not be put into force sooner than a year after they are published.

2. In the event that state organs adopt acts that violate the rights of investors and participants in investment activity and there are losses, including lost gain, to subjects of investment activity as a result of the adoption of these acts, they are reimbursed by the same organ by a decision of the court or arbitration body. If this state organ does not have sufficient funds, the damage is reimbursed by the USSR, the Union and autonomous republics, and the local soviet of people's deputies whose organ adopted the act that violated the rights of investors and participants in investment activity.

State organs and their officials do not have the right to intervene in the activity of subjects of investment activity except in cases where this intervention is allowed by legislation and is carried out within the limits of the competence of these organs and officials.

Nobody has the right to restrict the rights of investors in the selection of objects for investment with the exception of cases envisioned by the present fundamentals.

3. Investment activity is cut back or halted by a decision of:

the investors, and the investors make reimbursement for losses to participants in investment activity;
an authorized state organ.

The decision of the state organ to cut back or halt investment activity may be adopted for the following reasons:

the declaration of bankruptcy, according to procedures established by law, because of insolvency;

natural disasters or other cases of manifestations of uncontrollable forces;

the introduction of a state of emergency;

if in the process of investment activity it is revealed that its continuation will lead to the violation of sanitary-hygienic, ecological, and other norms established by legislation, or the legally protected rights and interests of citizens, corporate bodies, or the state. The procedure for making reimbursement for damage to participants in investment activity in this case is determined by legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics.

Article 21. Liability of Subjects of Investment Activity

If they fail to observe contractual commitments subjects of investment activity bear property and other liability envisioned by legislation and the signed contracts.

The payment of fines and penalties for violation of the conditions of the contracts and also reimbursement for losses do not release the guilty party from fulfillment of his commitments unless otherwise stipulated by the law or the contract.

Article. 22. Liability in Fulfilling the State Order

1. If commitments for filling the state order or legally substantiated obligations are not fulfilled or are fulfilled improperly, state organs of all levels bear property liability for their commitments to the subjects of investment activity. If these organs do not have sufficient funds, damages are reimbursed by the USSR, the Union and autonomous republics, and the local soviets of people's deputies, respectively, whose organs have not fulfilled or have improperly fulfilled their commitments. Officials guilty of this bear personal liability in keeping with the present legislation.

2. Union and republic state organs bear mutual property liability for failing to fulfill or for improperly fulfilling commitments related to the filling of Union state orders, making reimbursement for damages causes, including lost advantage.

3. Participants in investment activity bear property liability to the investor-state for filling state orders in keeping with the procedure established by legislation and signed contracts.

Article 23. Protection of Investments

1. The state guarantees protection of investments, regardless of the forms of ownership, including foreign investments. Protection of investments is provided by legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics and by agreements among them. Moreover, equal conditions are provided for investors, including foreign investors, which rules out the application of measures of a discriminatory nature which could impede control of investments, their use, and their liquidation, and conditions and procedures are also envisioned for recalling invested values and the results of investments.

2. Investments may not be nationalized without reimbursement, requisitioned, or have measures of similar consequence applied to them. These measures may be applied only on the basis of legislative acts of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics with reimbursement to the investor for the full volume of losses caused because of the halting of investment activity. The procedure for reimbursement for losses is determined in the aforementioned acts.

Special bank deposits made or acquired by the investors, shares and other securities, and payments for acquired property or rental rights in cases of removal in keeping with legislative acts of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics are reimbursed to the investors with the exception of sums which were used or lost as a result of the actions of the investors themselves or the enterprises with their participation.

3. Disputes arising as a result of investment activity are considered by the corresponding court, state arbitration board, or arbitration court,

4. Disputes concerning failure to fulfill or improper fulfillment of commitments ensuing from contracts pertaining to investment activity, between Union and republic management organs, and management organs of the Union and autonomous republics, and also between republics are examined under the policy of arbitration examination and state arbitration of the USSR.

5. Investments can, and in cases envisioned by the law, must be insured.

[Signed] **President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, M.S. GORBACHEV.**
Moscow, Kremlin, 10 December 1990.

Enabling Decree

914A0212B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 90 Union Edition p 2

[Decree signed by USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman A. Lukyanov in the Kremlin in Moscw on 10 December: "Decree of USSR Supreme Soviet On Putting Into Effect the Fundamentals of Legislation on Investment Activity in the USSR"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. To put into effect the Fundamentals of Legislation on Investment Activity in the USSR as of 1 January 1991.

2. The Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics must:

bring legislation of the Union and autonomous republics in line with the Fundamentals of Legislation on Investment Activity in the USSR;

adopt legislative acts on investment activity, taking into account the present Fundamentals and national, regional, and other peculiarities, while not allowing discriminatory restrictions.

3. The USSR Council of Ministers before 1 July 1991 must:

submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet proposals for bringing existing legislative acts in line with the Fundamentals of Legislation on Investment Activity in the USSR;

bring decrees and instructions of the USSR Government in line with the present Fundamentals;

provide for review and abolition by USSR ministries and departments of their normative acts, including instructions, which contradict the present Fundamentals.

4. In the future until legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics is brought into line with the present Fundamentals, existing legislative acts of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics are applied since they do not contradict these Fundamentals. At the same time decisions of the USSR Government and the governments of the Union and autonomous republics published before the present Fundamentals go into effect on questions which, according to the Fundamentals, may be regulated only by legislative acts, are in effect in the future until the adoption of the corresponding legislative acts. The Fundamentals of Legislation on Investment Activity in the USSR are applied to legal relations that arise after the Fundamentals go into effect, that is, after 1 January 1991.

With respect to legal relations arising before 1 January 1991, the Fundamentals of Legislation on Investment Activity in the USSR are applied to the rights and responsibilities which arise after the present Fundamentals go into effect.

[Signed] Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A. LUKYANOV
Moscow, the Kremlin, 10 December 1990

KGB Efforts Against Economic Sabotage Cited

914D0083A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Dec 90 Second Edition p 6

[Article by Yu. Makhrin: "The Shield Against Sabotage: Reporting from the KGB Operations Headquarters"]

[Text] *Its name says it all: Headquarters for Combating Economic Sabotage. This was decreed by the Supreme Soviet directive on 23 November 1990.*

The shield intended to protect the economy and all of us, dear readers, from the criminal encroachments of the "fat cats" has been organized within the framework of the Sixth Directorate of the Committee for State Security.

FOOTNOTE. The Sixth Directorate was created by a decision of the USSR Council of Ministers in October 1982. The chekists' main tasks were defined as follows: to combat espionage, diversion, and other hostile activities in the economic sphere; to participate in the investigation of the circumstances and the neutralization of the consequences of emergencies and natural disasters; and to uncover and prevent criminal activities of corrupt elements and other forms of organized crime. Now, on orders from the country's parliament, more work has been added—to combat economic sabotage.

The word "sabotage" began popping up in the press and in deputies' debates a year ago. It was then that innumerable lines of boxcars filled with goods had accumulated on the tracks surrounding major cities. There was a big noise then: Let us just unload these, and we will have plenty of everything. Quite recently representatives of the Moscow City Soviet declared: Empty counters in food stores and empty freight stations around the city are the result of sabotage by the provinces who want to strangle the democrats in power in the capital.

I open V. Dal's Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language. No, our forefathers did not use this word. I ask a veteran old enough to be my father: "What is sabotage?" He knows:

"On 26 February 1927 the USSR Central Executive Committee adopted a decree on especially grave crimes against the government order. Clause 14 said: 'Counter-revolutionary sabotage, that is, conscious dereliction of certain duties, or their intentionally sloppy fulfillment, done with a specific purpose of undermining the power of the government, is punishable by prison term of no less than one year.'"

Is there a more recent legislative act on sabotage? Alas! KGB Deputy Chairman V. Grushko, in answer to a correspondent's question "What are the problems you encounter?" said: "I think the main problem is the fact that so far the state security organs do not have a clearly defined legal foundation for organizing inspections and for obtaining all necessary documentation about enterprises, cooperatives, institutions, and other organizations. We need a part in our criminal law that would define economic sabotage and the punishment for it. Right now there is no such thing."

The "shadow economy" dealers, speculators, and pilferers of people's property know it, too. They insist on their "rights." They have issued their own "decree," to counteract the presidential one: not to let the inspectors, including the chekists, into the stores and warehouses.

The special services officers who use both overt and covert methods of information gathering, are not going to be stopped by this, however. On the contrary, together with workers control committees, local soviets, and law enforcement organs, they increase daily the pressure against dealers of all walks and colors, and against ordinary sloppiness. There are already staff quarters in the localities, operative groups are actively involved in

actions everywhere. They send in their information in coded messages. Here, on Lubyanka, this information is analyzed, summarized, and extrapolated; decisions are made. The results are reported to the president and to the government, as well as to officials in charge of ministries and departments.

...A regular meeting of the "anti-sabotage staff" is in progress in the office of Nikolay Andreyevich Savenkov, chief of the KGB Sixth Directorate. Members of the staff—the heads of the largest departments (not only of this directorate)—present operational reports. To begin with, state security took under its control the entire chain of import processing: from the border to the store counter. Today special attention is being paid to the so-called humanitarian aid. It is coming from 15 countries. Already about $3 million worth of food, medical supplies, clothing, and even construction materials has arrived. But this is only a tenth of what other countries intend to send us.

I have heard rumblings: This is a humiliating charity from abroad, we should be ashamed of it! That may be true, but this is help that is coming from the heart, and it is going not to people in their peak shape, but to orphans, veterans living in nursing homes, and sick people. Not an unneeded help in these times of hardship. Do we need to have the chekist's eye on this conveyor of charity? Would somebody attempt to appropriate these handouts? They would. In Vladimir, the orphans and the elderly never received the sausages, cheese, sweets, and coffee intended for them. In the Oktyabrskiy Rayon of the same city a food shipment for children was stolen. In Belgorod part of a shipment of medicines sent through aid channels ended up for sale in pharmacies instead of in hospitals.

It is a humanitarian help, although sometimes our compatriots better call for an ambulance when they get the gifts. One parcel contained a piece of bread, another—from the United States—had almost expired medications.

Food... Here, at the staff's "brain center", they talk about food as if it were strategic material. Well, the deficit is depressing, and therefore distribution of meat, milk, sugar, and even grain is gradually being brought under strict control. Not for nothing. In Moscow, it happens that a delivery van from the state meat processing plant would take the goods to the market instead of the store. In Ulyanovsk the cooperatives bought 15 million rubles [R] worth of food products in the state stores in just nine months. That shish kebab that is sold by cooperatives at sky-high prices is made from meat that never made it to the store. That is how the initial (is it only the initial) capital is accumulated.

I read coded messages received by the staff. "R500,000 worth of unsold goods discovered," "R723,000 worth," "R40,000 worth of canned meat and 10,540 kilos of butter (at the department of workers' supply warehouse of Tashausremvodstroy trust)," "investigation being conducted," "criminal proceedings initiated," "information sent to procurator's office."

Wherever the chekists look, there are hidden goods. In Dagestan and Ashkhabad, in Tuva and Ryazan, in Astrakhan and Leningrad.... Sometimes it happens as in that old fable: nobody profits. In one Moscow store the inspection discovered a supply of black caviar past the allowable storage date. Near Zabolotye village in Molodechnenskiy Rayon, Minsk Oblast 16 boxes containing 320 kilos of butter were found—apparently thrown away after being kept for too long in some warehouse. In Gomel Oblast over 1,000 units of canned food had to be destroyed—they had been stored for so long that the food spoiled.

Barter deals with foreign partners are becoming increasingly popular. The entire sequence (and sometimes even every single thread) of the operation is tracked by the chekists. What is happening is unbelievable. Rivers of lumber and coal flow abroad.... Enterprises are permitted to freely dispose of what is produced over the quotas. But no, the state orders are not being fulfilled, while foreign partners get—often for next to nothing—both raw materials and the finished goods. For instance, a group of the Orenburg City trade administration's officials, under the guise of barter, made contraband deliveries of appliances to Poland—R8 million worth.

I listen to the staff members' reports on the situation on the food front, while looking at an old fireplace built into the office wall. It appears that the ash is still warm on the grate. What has this fireplace been witness to? The knots of evil plans against the USSR were untangled here—not only in times past, but, perhaps, today, just a few minutes ago. I know that some operations, conceived and worked out by this fireplace, saved our country billions of rubles. Now this: "...cans of food," "kilos of meat...." I confess that a thought crossed my mind: Are we not wasting the minds and the talents of our professional chekists? I was wrong. The final proof came several hours later when I was listening to KGB Chairman V.A. Kryuchkov: "We can only get things back to order if we work all together."

As to why it was the KGB that was charged with combating economic sabotage, that is clear: It is one of the few structures in the country that has preserved, despite all the vicious attacks against it, its capabilities.

Scientific

Salyut-7 Station To Reenter Atmosphere

LD2712123290 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] A Soviet aerospace official says the orbiting research complex incorporating a station and spacecraft is expected to burn out on reentry in January or February.

Mr. Aleksandr Dunayev said the Salyut-7 station, which had failed to obey ground commands, was transfered to a remoter orbit in 1986. However, he said, the station was now out of control which does not rule out the possibility of some parts of the complex reaching the Earth's surface.

Military

Swedish State of Emergency Data Denied

PM2512213190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 90 Union Edition p 8

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent M. Zubko: "According to Swedish Intelligence Data..." with commentary by Colonel General V. Denisov, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff]

[Text] Stockholm—Swedish intelligence has obtained information that the USSR is carrying out the secret redeployment of troops, and this may possibly indicate preparation for the introduction of a state of emergency in the country, reports Stockholm's AFTONBLADET, citing an authoritative statement by B. Gustafsson, commander in chief of the Swedish Armed Forces.

The newspaper reminds readers that Swedish intelligence has long been engaged in "electronic surveillance" of Soviet territory. The intelligence service data have given Gustafsson reason to conclude that a state of emergency could be introduced in the USSR at any time. But what is behind such actions?

The commander in chief himself relates this to statements made at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies that the situation in a number of regions of the country could lead to the introduction of presidential rule. Here Gustafsson drew attention to the increased rights of the Internal Affairs Ministry and the fact that certain "elite units" of the Soviet Army being withdrawn from the countries of East Europe are being incorporated, according to his information, within the internal troops.

Other specialists draw somewhat different conclusions from the facts obtained by the secret service, however. For example, V. Agrell, well-known in Sweden for his research into problems of peace and military conflicts, considers that military circles in the Soviet Union "have themselves already cleared the way to the declaration of a state of emergency." He believes that the food crisis in the USSR "has been caused artificially" and that only special measures can save the situation.

AFTONBLADET also cites the opinion of a third expert, Colonel B. Hugemark, who is a specialist on security questions. His view is that military rule seems to be approaching in the Soviet Union and that it could start at any time. [Zubko dispatch ends]

Col. Gen. V. Denisov, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, comments on this report:

"With the changes taking place in East Europe and in our country Western special services have begun showing even greater interest in everything that is happening here. We know that extra funds have been assigned for technical intelligence. The territory of the Soviet Union is observed, monitored, and photographed. Dozens of spy satellites fly over us. Around 2,000 surveillance posts have been set up along our border. Aircraft carry out hundreds of flights along our western and eastern borders each month. Using space-based surveillance systems, the special services (including Sweden's) are able to identify objects on USSR territory measuring 1-1.5 meters. So there is nothing surprising in the fact that Swedish intelligence has obtained information about troop redeployment. But where is the secrecy here? After all, it is no secret to anyone that the planned withdrawal of troops from the countries of East Europe is now under way. To take just the railroad, there are now more than 30 trains en route. Unfortunately, the conclusions drawn by the Swedish military leadership from all this surprise or, rather, stagger me. If the military leadership is perfectly well informed about what is happening here in our country from the military viewpoint, why does it connect it with the need to introduce a supposed state of emergency here and with the seizure of power by the military? What do they possess—is there intelligence data on this score? I am convinced that the conclusions drawn in the article are farfetched."

Baklanov Examines Attitudes Toward Army

91UM0190B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Dec 90 Union Edition p 1, 3

[Interview with O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent; place and date not given: "The Army in Society"]

[Text] [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] The Army and modern society.... Complicated relations are developing here today. Either the Army is practically accused of being the main cause of all of our economic problems today: Defense takes up the lion's share of the state budget. Or there are rumors about a possible military coup. Or they "open fire on the staff" and sow mistrust of the military and political leaders.... The prestige of the military in society has declined. What do you have to say about this?

[Baklanov] That is not one question but several questions. Let us figure them out calmly. Does all of our society really have a negative attitude toward the Army now? Not at all! It is simply that there are people and even certain forces in our society who need very much to defame the Army, military servicemen, and the military leaders.

The Army has been, is, and will be a part of the society, a part of the life of practically every family. This includes

the memory of the glory of the Russian armed forces, the bitterness of the losses, and the problems we all have in common today.

This has always been the case. Let us recall the history and the great enthusiasm our homeland experienced after the great victories on the field of Kulikovo and at Poltava and in the battles of Borodino and Stalingrad. Do these victories not reflect the spiritual and moral condition of the entire society? On the contrary, the defeats, say, in the Crimean War and the heavy losses in World War I brought about, to a considerable degree, profound changes in society.

Today as well the destinies of the Army and society are inseparable. Of course, the Army could not escape the processes that are typical of the entire country. But at all times the Army has always preserved more strongly, deeply, and carefully all the best that is created by the nation and the leading people of the time. Possibly because of healthy conservatism.

The role and significance of the Army were well understood by the great scholar and poet Lomonosov, who formulated six articles of state importance: "These important articles require profound discussion, a long-range ability to explain state affairs, and prudent power to work and take action." Article 6, in particular, says: "On preserving the military art during extended peace time...." It is not in order to wage war and conquer other peoples that we must create an Army and Navy, he thought, but "for protection of the homeland, for the safety of the subjects, and for the unimpeded undertaking of important enterprises within the state."

The best representatives of all peoples and times have been proud of their profession—defending the motherland. At all times and in all places the Army has been a most important instrument for conducting state policy.

The Army is the guarantee of the safety of the people and is one of the most organized parts of the society.

The Army is an organization of people who are prepared to sacrifice and do sacrifice their lives for the interests of the motherland.

The Army is that alloy of the high intellect of scholars, engineers, and specialists who comprise a threatening weapon—the embodiment of the achievements of human genius, it is the highest mastery, professionalism, and responsibility of the officers and men who control modern systems and complexes of military technology.

The Army is regular exhausting labor and responsibility which frequently tests the limits of human capabilities.

Finally, **our Soviet Army** is essentially the instiller of the deepest international traditions of our Union of Soviet socialist sovereign equal peoples and republics. That is the Army.

You speak about modern society. Is there a philosophical definition of it? Where is its beginning? Can one say for certain that today's events are closely tied to the past? But we should not revel in criticism of the past. Analyze mistakes—yes, but not revel in them, not bear malice. We must understand the past; history is the foundation of our present and future.

When I hear criticism of anything and everything today, I recall the words of Dostoyevskiy, who caustically noted some people's inclination to condemn everything in passing, with uncommon ease, without penetrating to the essence of the subject: "...they discussed the destruction of censorship and the letter 'yat,' the replacement of Russian letters with Latin ones, ...the usefulness of breaking Russia down into nationalities with voluntary federative ties, the destruction of the Army and the Navy, the restoration of Poland along the Dnepr, and so forth and so on." How similar this is to the present day.

In my view, discussions of the decline of interest and respect for military service is an attempt to pass the **not-so-innocuous desired** for reality; it is a symptom of the disease of the state organism. Along with just criticism of the realities of Army life there are frequently out-and-out lies, and in a form which makes it difficult to distinguish the truth from fabrication.

The dissemination of fantastic rumors about some alleged military coup that is in the making, a kind of toying with the "military map," is disturbing society. I am convinced that, on the one hand, this is a consequence of permissiveness and a low level of political culture, and on the other—a refined and calculating game of our "right wing" who are entering the political arena "from the left." Some people understand democracy and act as though it were nothing but "rights" without any "obligations" or responsibility. I do not think we have enough laws in the constitution to react properly to these phenomena.

You say that "defense is eating up the lion's share of the state budget." That is not so. Expenditures on defense in 1989 and 1990 respectively in comparable prices amount to about 70 and 75 billion rubles [R], which corresponds to 8.2 and 7.2 percent of our gross national product. For comparison, in the United States these figures were $303 billion and $302 billion, respectively, or 5.9 and 5.4 percent of the American gross national product. But if we say that our gross national product is several times less than the American, one can see why we have a somewhat higher proportion of expenditures on defense.

"Firing at the staff," articles about the uselessness and harm of the construction of aircraft carriers—and all this at a time when the Supreme Soviet is discussing the defense budget—this is too obvious a hint! It is clear who stands to gain.

Yes, there are many shortcomings in the Army, and serious ones—in combat training, in the observance of

military discipline, in resolving social problems of military servicemen. But these are problems common to the entire nation and not subjects for hysterics and propagandistic speculations.

Here is what is interesting: The people who attack the Army most frequently and hardest, as a rule, are those who, not knowing anything about military service, try to look like some kind of "good guys." These good guys are not among the ones in Army uniforms who risked their lives in Chernobyl and Spitak, who even today protect old people, women, and children from the beastly crowds agitated by extremists of all stripes in the so-called "hot spots."

Anti-Army rabble rousing is a manifestation of profound moral cynicism. Has the experience of history really not taught us anything? I personally believe in the people's traditionally good feelings toward the Army.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] It seems to us that today one cannot but see this phenomenon: Amidst discussions of depoliticization of the Army, radically inclined forces are trying to involve it in politics and essentially win it to their side. What does this involve and what is behind it?

[Baklanov] I already said above that in all times the Army has been one of the main instruments for conducting state policy. I agree with you: Any discussions about the possibility of political neutrality of the Army are only a cover for far-reaching plans of people vying for power. To extract the political essence from Army activity would mean to transform it into a host of toy soldiers. There is not a single depoliticized Army in the world today, one that lacks structures that maintain the moral spirit and educate the personnel.

If we are to call a spade a spade, attempts to eliminate CPSU influence from the Armed Forces are not depoliticization or even elimination of party influence, but repoliticization and switching of party influence. Such aspirations are fraught with serious consequences. They can lead to opposition and confrontation among the people to whom modern weapons, including nuclear missiles, have been entrusted. This is how the situation was assessed by the military servicemen who are people's deputies at the November meeting with the USSR president.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] People are trying more and more persistently to divide the Army according to national categories, and some have even intended to create their own armed formations. The draft of youth for regular service is proceeding very poorly and there are more and more deserters for so-called "political reasons." The Army is already experiencing a great shortage of personnel because of this. Many readers are expressing alarm: Can the country's leaders really not see this? Where will these tendencies lead?

[Baklanov] Under modern conditions, with the appearance of qualitatively new kinds of weapons that are capable even today of destroying everything living on any continent in 20-30 minutes, national formations have clearly lost all meaning.

In the first place, maintaining and supplying a modern Army with arms and technical equipment is a costly business even on the scale of the Union. On the scale of an individual republic or region it is possible to create some kind of likeness of a home guard. A reasonable question arises: Is this necessary? Why this unraveling of military formations?

In the second place, training military personnel requires a modern, constantly updated material training base and highly qualified teaching personnel, which are simply impossible to provide through the forces of any republic individually. The problem of supplying these formations with arms and military equipment remains open. Even large countries with fairly modern industrial bases such as India and Brazil have had to buy arms from the USSR and the United States.

As was reported in the newspapers recently, the person running for the post of deputy prime minister of the RSFSR can submit an application in the Russian legislature for the republic to have nuclear weapons. Apparently he thinks that relocating missile silos is as simple as moving the couch across his apartment when his wife asks him to.

People can be deluded—we are speaking about billions in expenditures and, the main thing, responsibility and competence. In this connection it seems to me that certain republics are feeling the squeeze between heightened nationalism in the euphoria of their newly declared sovereignty and their real scientific-technical and material capabilities.

Our planet is very small, and by creating national armies we could cover it with yet another layer of weapons, of which there are more than enough even without this. It is difficult even to imagine that there could be modern "leaders like Makhno," "gang leaders like Grigoryev," and "insurrectionists like Bandera," who will begin to clarify their relations not with carts carrying "Maxim" machine guns but with mobile missile complexes with nuclear warheads. This is not a matter of political ambitions and interparty squabbles. This could be a matter of preserving life on earth.

A reasonable and honest politician cannot incite people to another arms race, including through creating national armies. On the contrary, it is necessary to develop in mankind an understanding that we are all in the same boat, and this boat is the earth.

One must say outright that the "war" between republic and Union laws, on whose "battlefields" the Soviet Army has ended up defenseless, not only destroys our defense potential; we must recognize that there is a greater possibility of tragic (like Chernobyl) mistakes while maintaining these extremely complex weapons systems.

But this is not the only danger. Young people who are in the service or preparing for it are crippled by the fallout from nationalism. I would compare this to rust which erodes the friendship of nations. Nationalities of all stripes have always placed their own narrow egoistic goals and personal ambitions above general human values. We know from our own experience that artificial self-isolation can only retard the nation's development. Building our Union on a principally new foundation, we must resolutely cure this terrible illness.

Take the situation in Lithuania. Here in a short period of time they have adopted a whole "set" of legislative acts that contradict the USSR Constitution. Among them are those that say the USSR law on universal military service is invalid and the activity of military commissariats is halted on the republic's territory.

Moreover, Landsbergis, speaking on republic radio, openly called for "men with arms in hand to meet force with force." The large-scale campaign for encouraging Lithuanian youths now performing regular service in the Soviet Army to desert is continuing.

The policy of the republic government directed toward encroaching on the social rights of military servicemen and their families, veterans of the Patriotic War, and the Afghan troops is particularly crucial and painful.

The USSR president has declared all these "laws" invalid. We must not forget that there is a limit to the patience of the military servicemen as well. In this connection I think it would be useful to read through the speech of Marshal D.T. Yazov published in the newspapers on 28 November of this year.

Yes, our leaders are well aware of the problems we have touched upon. Only recently have they become the subject of incisive and principled discussion in the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee. Additional measures have been earmarked for thwarting any attempts to shatter the Army which, according to the constitution, is under the control of the USSR president.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Alarm and bitterness are evoked by the social position military servicemen feel they are in, especially their poor daily living conditions. These problems are being aggravated with the withdrawal of our troops from Eastern Europe. And the standard of living? After all, a lieutenant's wages are less than 300 rubles. What can a young officer and his family expect from the changeover to market relations?

[Baklanov] Social support for military servicemen is a primary issue. Today I shall not mention the measures being taken in this area by the president, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Union government. I will say only that this subject is at the center of the attention of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee commission on military policy.

When these issues were being discussed in the commission they presented scandalous facts about the poor support for military servicemen and their families. Regardless of how difficult the socioeconomic situation in the country may be, we must give the Army priority when it comes to things like this. We cannot allow a combat officer with a higher education who is serving under extreme conditions to earn less than, say, a successful merchant.

A most difficult situation has now developed with respect to providing housing for military servicemen. This directly affects about 200,000 officers, warrant officers, ensigns, and employees of the Soviet Army. In a number of regions the unit commanders have had to house families in the military compounds and in unsuitable residential premises. Moreover, certain leaders of local soviets, under invented pretexts, are refusing to accept from the Ministry of Defense funds for shared participation in housing construction and are refusing to register military servicemen and their families.

We must not calmly ignore cases like these. A couple of days ago the Central Committee commission on military policy especially discussed issues related to social security for military servicemen. We are sending the party organizations a resolution in which we have formulated our recommendations, including for communist deputies, for regulating the social situation for troops in the Soviet Army.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Why, in your opinion, is the military reform being dragged out, what do you see as its priorities, and what is the condition of the draft law on defense?

[Baklanov] The military reform affects the domestic and foreign policy and the economic, social, and spiritual life of the country, and it touches upon the activity of all state and social institutions. The reform of the Armed Forces is an indispensable part of perestroyka. Incidentally, the development of its concept began, on the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee, back when the issue was not so crucial in society.

Why is the reform being dragged out? I do not agree with you. It has been in the process of implementation since 1987. It is another matter that it cannot be reduced simply to setting the "generals and the radicals" against one another, as some people are doing. The reform in this sphere cannot be accelerated without improvement of the situation in the state and throughout the world.

In the midst of the processes of disarmament, which are gathering steam, he situation changes. The joint declaration signed on 19 November in Paris calls for confirming the end of the era of separation and confrontation which has lasted for more than four decades. The new historical era that is to begin in European relations confirms that the countries are no longer enemies and will build new partnership relations.

Of course, our country will strictly fulfill its agreements for arms reduction. But one cannot but see that the new political thinking is not coming easily to the world, that inertia and old views of the development of the international situation are having their effect. The crisis in the Persian Gulf is a confirmation of this.

After all, this essentially has to do with reducing to a common denominator the immense possibilities of the scientific and technical progress of all mankind and the potential of each individual country. Who can guarantee that among the politicians there are no hot-heads who would have nothing against "playing" the nuclear weapons card? Hence the conclusion: Everything in the area of disarmament must be built only on a mutual basis.

Our country has made great advances in the disarmament process. We have a right to expect adequate responses.

This is why I am afraid that the "good intentions" of certain of our scholars and diplomats might push us onto the road leading to hell. I must say clearly that today the balanced, deeply considered position of the president of the Soviet Union is the only guarantee of our country's security.

Recently in society there has appeared what I would call a frivolous attitude toward the country's defense capabilities. They are talking, for example, about the excessive secrecy in the defense industry and the Army and suggesting that we display for general viewing the so-called "closed" cities which are the centers for production of the most modern military equipment, unilaterally refrain from conducting nuclear tests, and so forth and so on. But the United States as well as other Western countries that are our partners in the disarmament processes continue as usual to be very cautious about their military secrets and are continuing to improve practically all kinds of arms and military equipment, they have closed facilities, and they protect their military and state secrets extremely zealously.

Take these same nuclear weapons. The United States, France, and China conducted 13 tests this year, while we had only one. But there was such a ruckus about that one explosion! As for secrecy, quite recently the U.S. President fired a "multi-star" general who had been too open with the press. Nobody in all of America would advise encroaching on public disclosure. Defense is defense, and state policy is state policy.

In the near future the USSR Supreme Soviet will discuss both the draft concept of the military reform considered by the Defense Council and the alternative documents. This is a weighty package which is of nationwide significance.

A draft law on defense has been developed and submitted to the legislature, and draft laws on the status of military servicemen and universal military obligation, provisions on serving time in the military, and a number of other legislative acts are in the stage of completion.

Based on the resolution of the 28th CPSU Congress "On the Basic Directions of the Party Military Policy in the Modern Stage," the party is concentrating its efforts on using methods inherent in it to search for and implement effective ways of reforming the military sphere.

A most important constituent part of the military reform is restructuring political organs into military-political organs and creating elective party organizations at all levels of the Army structure. This will make it possible to concentrate the efforts of commanders and political workers as well as all other communists on a radical improvement of personnel training and the development in them of the necessary moral-political and psychological qualities while working under extreme conditions, strengthening of order and discipline, and provision of social security on the basis of laws that have been adopted.

Another thing. This line is attributed to Churchill, a great politician, former British prime minister, and first lord of the admiralty: Anyone who was not a liberal in his youth has no heart, but anyone who has not become a moderate conservative in his maturity has no mind. It seems to me that the same thing is true with respect to the Army. Whether we like it or not, any Army—Soviet or American—is essentially conservative. How is this conservatism expressed? After all, Army regulations were written, as it were, in soldiers' blood over centuries and confirmed by the experience of thousands of battles and the drudgery of everyday Army life. The principles of troop control also remain unshakeable—these are mainly the principles of unity of command. So military reform must be conducted very cautiously.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] I would like to touch upon the problem of conversion. We began it with fervor. Then we began to understand that we do not have a sufficiently thought-out concept for such a complicated and costly process. And will the next stage not be the understanding that we are losing more here than we are finding? And how do we reconcile what at first glance seem to be such diametrically opposed views of the process: conversion and provision of new equipment for the Armed Forces?

[Baklanov] I am not sure what you mean by the words: "We began the conversion with fervor." Any "technocrat" understands that perestroyka of production is an objectively necessary, but complicated and costly process.

Imagine a space ship flying around the earth. It takes a rocket weighing 50 times as much as it does to put it into orbit. Following the laws of space mechanics, the ship circles the earth. But now try to change its course and rearrange the plane of the orbit by, say, 90 degrees. The weight of the fuel required for this is 100 times greater than the weight of the ship itself....

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] It would seem, Oleg Dmitriyevich, that space is your favorite topic. After all, you are a specialist in rocket construction.

[Baklanov] I do indeed consider space and space science to be the peaks of human capability and technical progress at the turn of the century. But that is not the point.

We must clearly understand that conversion of defense enterprises, important as it is, is not a campaign, and one should not be surprised that in the age of disarmament the defense sector has not filled our stores with good durable products whose quality is just as good as that of the rockets. To do this it is necessary not only to change the technology and deliver new equipment, but it is also necessary to train and develop specialists with a new psychology. It is naive to assume that, say, a talented ballistics expert who calculates the orbits of interplanetary space ships will be able to easily change his professional interests and, so to speak, design the best sewing machine in the world in the process.

The unique laboratory equipment used in the defense sector, the specialized computer complexes, the complicated and costly mathematical programs, and, finally, the unique scientific personnel—all this is our national property. It would be simply criminal to waste this wealth. (Incidentally, American specialists in the area of conversion with whom we had a meeting in Moscow recently think the same thing.) This invaluable property must be used for its immediate purpose—to produce complicated aircraft, rocket-space, radio equipment and other systems for peaceful use and it must be more actively promoted on the international market.

In response to the complaints of certain defense industry leaders that they are being forced to make "knick-knacks," I always answer like this: Do what you can given your intellect, organizational capabilities, and the possibilities of your enterprises. After all, we understand that the production of modern household equipment requires no less intellect than putting out military products.

As for providing the USSR Armed Forces with new equipment, I would like to emphasize that changing some of the military production over to a civilian basis in no case means a reduction of the level of USSR security. This is a fundamental issue.

I would like to emphasize especially that the depth of Soviet conversion will depend directly on the steps the Western countries take to meet us half way, that is, we can only speak about parity.

Our basic position was clearly and unequivocally formulated by M.S. Gorbachev: "We will maintain the country's defense capabilities at the level of reasonable and reliable adequacy so that no one will be tempted to threaten the security of the USSR and its allies." We shall be unswervingly guided by this principle in our work on questions of defense construction.

In conclusion I shall say once again: Our offspring, our protector, the Army is itself in need of the help and protection of society today. I am convinced that the people will do everything they can to provide this. They must.

The last thing. Our power lies in unity. We must allow the country to turn into a "rich soup" made of cheap work force, rich natural resources, and a mercilessly exploited ecological environment.

In my view, the main thing today is that the entire world must resolutely begin to implement a complex of measures for stabilizing the situation in the country proposed by the USSR president. Less ambition and more work. The people are demanding this both from party organizations and from the soviets at all levels. I hope that the Fourth USSR Congress of People's Deputies will be a congress of consolidation of all healthy forces in society in the name of strengthening the union of the peoples living in our great multinational state.

Army General Thanks IZVESTIYA on Coverage

91UM0190A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Dec 90 Union Edition p 6

[Letter from Army General Varennikov, commander in chief of ground forces and USSR people's deputy, from the "Mailbag of International Departments" column; date not given: "The Army Thanks IZVESTIYA"]

[Text] There was widespread response among the ground forces—all military districts and groups of forces, military academies, schools, and organs under central jurisdiction—to the article by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Lapskiy: "Staying Another Four Years" (No. 290, 1990). He touched upon critical problems of the life and activity of the troops of the Western Group of Forces under the conditions that have changed since the unification of Germany.

Numerous appeals to enlisted men, warrant officers, and commissioned officers note the objective analysis of the existing situation, the weighty arguments, and the clarity and definiteness of the author's position as well as the sincere interest of the editorial staff in solving the problems. We are convinced that such newspaper articles, which openly discuss the difficulties of perestroyka in the Army and do not overlook the shortcomings in educational work, contribute to increasing the authority of the Armed Forces and the strengthening of their militancy. There is no doubt that this is in the interests of our people.

The military council of the ground forces expresses its gratitude to the IZVESTIYA editorial staff for the attention it has paid to the Army's problems and the correctness of its depiction of the state of affairs in the Armed Forces.

We are sincerely grateful and wish the newspaper's workers creative success.

[Signed] Army General Varennikov, commander in chief of the ground forces and USSR people's deputy.

Baltic Republics

Estonian Supreme Soviet Appeal Cited

PM2412104590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Dec 90 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Estonian Supreme Soviet Appeal"]

[Text] Tallinn—The "threats from the ruling circles and military command of the Soviet Union" which have become more frequent recently are aimed at halting the processes of democratization and restoration of Estonia's independence, says an appeal from the Estonian Supreme Soviet to the population, the organs of state and local power, and all democratically minded associations of citizens, published 20 December in the republican newspapers

The result of these "threats," the document notes, and of "the buildup of tension by the Soviet Union" could be the creation of a situation in which the republic's Supreme Soviet will have to retreat temporarily from the path of freedom, from the course toward the restoration of state autonomy. The Supreme Soviet uges the population to retain their faith in the correctness of their cause and to display civil disobedience and follow only Estonia's laws. With a view to preserving the Estonian nation it is not recommended that force be resorted to as a means of opposing violence.

The appeal which has been published, in the opinion of local observers, marks the start of the working over of public opinion in favor of the Union treaty as an enforced and timely measure to preserve the Estonian nation. It also indirectly confirms rumors that approximately a week before the opening of the Congress of People's Deputies the leadership of some political parties and movements discussed the "black scenarios" for the development of events and concluded that if pressure is stepped up it will be necessary to adopt a more loyal stance with regard to the Union treaty.

Tallinn Subsidizes Emigration From Estonia

91UN0491A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Dec 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Leonid Levitskiy: "Take the Money and Go"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Tallinn City Soviet has resolved to render financial assistance to people voluntarily moving from Estonia to other republics.

The amount of the subsidy is determined according to a special formula taking account of the conveniences and the extent of depreciation of the apartment. The value of an ideal square meter of general living space has been established at 200 rubles [R]. This is the cost of a square meter in a new, well maintained apartment.

Having decided to redeem the apartment from those departing, the city soviet has entered into competition with the smart operators of the underground housing market. But the incentives were evidently more tempting there, and the city soviet recently raised the value of a square meter to R500. The small "Ruum" enterprise at the city soviet executive committee's housing registration and allocation department has been created to register the compensation documents. The money, however, is paid out by the Tallinn Welfare Fund. It has been allocated R1 million for this. In six months "Ruum" has concluded contracts with 31 tenants. Compensation has been paid to 23 of them. The total amount of the compensation is R300,000. The largest payment so far has been R13,400 for a three-room apartment. The compensation is paid on a reference from the new place of residence certified by the executive committee and a notary public. A family occupying a room in a communal apartment receives R2,000 per person. A room in a hostel "is worth" R1,500.

Latvian Government To Raise Prices 3 Jan

AU2112172390 Paris AFP in English 1700 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Moscow, Dec 21 (AFP)—Prices in Latvia are to rise by at least 300 percent from January 3, on the basis of a list of new prices which was published by the Latvian government on Friday, the BNS Baltic news agency reported.

The retail prices of bread, flour and meat will rise by 300 percent on average, while prices for milk products will rise by 3.2 times.

To compensate for the increases, workers will receive and additional 66 rubles ($40) per month, and aid will be provided for families with many children and for young mothers.

Lithuania has already announced similar measures for next year. Estonia, the third Baltic republic, introduced smaller increases in October.

Some Latvian Deputies Kept Abroad As Precaution

LD2012135690 Stockholm International Service in English 1230 GMT 20 Dec 90

[Text] Latvian parliamentarian and member of the People's Front Janis Dinevichs, now visiting Stockholm, confirms reports the Latvian parliament has decided to keep some of its members overseas at all times in case Moscow imposes martial law in the Baltic states. Dinevichs is visiting Sweden as a special representative of the Latvian Republic's parliament.

Priests Hope for Calm at Latvian Legislature

LD2412081190 Moscow TASS in English 0717 GMT 24 Dec 90

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga December 24 TASS—Three-day Christmas celebrations began in Latvia today, closing offices, schools and the parliament.

On Saturday, church representatives visited the parliament to congratulate lawmakers. The priests expressed hope that the parliamentarians would bring peace and calm to people and presented each with a Bible.

The reminder was timely. The lawmakers were discussing the budget and price hikes, proposed by the government. The prospects of belt tightening filled citizens with gloom on the eve of the holidays. A resolution passed at the end of the session added to the anxiety. "Attempts to eliminate the legitimately elected Latvian parliament and government will be inevitably met by broad civil disobedience and resistance to thwart democratic reforms in Latvia on reactionary circles in the USSR.

Meanwhile, Latvians prepared to celebrate. Several Riga enterprises raised bonuses for orphaned schoolchildren. Fellow compatriots from Australia donated a Kamuz truck for farmers in Ludzen region. Dozens of work collectives in the republic sent money to help repair the national opera building. Riga residents, in a city-wide campaign, raised money to buy an elephant calf, born in the local zoo—the animal should have been sold to another city.

Another Christmas present—a Zhiguli car is unlikely to soon find an owner. The award has been offered for information about a series of explosions rocked Riga. The latest blast went off near the Biryuzov military school on December 21.

Lithuanian Deputies on Duty During Christmas

LD2312212890 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Excerpt] The information bureau of the Lithuanian Supreme Council announces that during the present tense situation in Lithuania, members of the presidium will be on duty in the Supreme Council building from 23 to 27 December. The information bureau will work round the clock on these days. If some unusual situation is noticed in Lithuania during the holidays, all persons are asked to immediately contact the information bureau so that it can immediately inform the corresponding agencies and offices both in Lithuania and abroad. Only important events should be reported. [passage omitted]

'Reinforced Patrolling' Lifted in Klaipeda

LD2612193690 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 26 Dec 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Klaipeda December 26 TASS—Reinforced patrolling by troops in the streets of this Lithuanian port city was lifted today.

Kliapeda Garrison commander Ivan Chernykh ordered patrolling Klaipeda streets by armed troops a week ago and granted them the right to check and detain civilians.

The move, which he explained by "hooligan actions", "insults against servicemen", "attempts at entering the post by the Lenin monument in the city centre" and other violations, provoked a sharp response in the republic.

The Presidium of the Lithuanian Parliament and the government described the move as "the beginning of an overt occupation rule and a new international crime" and requested President Mikhail Gorbachev to repeal "this order by Soviet Army officials".

Klaipeda Mayor Povilas Vasiljauskas today told TASS that he regards the lifting of armed patrolling in the city as a "logical move" and "correction of a mistake made by military authorities".

Klaipeda Garrison commander Chernykh said that "the transition to the ordinary regime of patrolling has become possible thanks to an understanding achieved with city militia officials who will help ensure security and protection of rights and personal dignity of servicemen".

Confirming that the situation in Klaipeda "is calm and peaceful on the whole and no civilians were detained during the week of reinforced patrolling", Chernykh noted, however, that on the night of December 22 a "petrol bomb was thrown into the area of a military unit" and "sentries by the Lenin monument in the city centre were insulted".

Lithuanian Procurator Warns on Law Violations

LD2312132590 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2300 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] The office of the Lithuanian Procurator General has warned the local authorities of the Vilnius and Salcininkai districts to disallow violations of law through which these municipalities are carrying out a policy setting up a Polish autonomy in the region.

The statement says that the Salcininkai district council has passed a number of unlawful decisions by which it stops the powers of the state-controlled bodies of the Lithuanian Republic and (?all officials) from the environmental and state defense departments.

The local authorities also violated the law by handing over to an organization of another country—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—a number of buildings which are the property of the Lithuanian state.

The office of the Lithuanian Procurator General made a warning that if the unlawful decisions are not revoked the officials guilty of the violation will be prosecuted by law. Besides, the Lithuanian law envisages that the legislature can disband such local councils and stop their activity.

Belorussian Foreign Economic Dealings Law

914A0145A

For this law published in the 6 November SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, see the JPRS Report Soviet Union: Economic Affairs, JPRS-UEA-90-045, 19 December 1990, pages 5-6.

Estonian Law on Economic Border Published

914A0075A

For this law published in the 27 October SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, see the JPRS Report Soviet Union: Economic Affairs, JPRS-UEA-90-045, 19 December 1990, pages 6-8.

Law on Leasing

914A0120A

For this law published in the 11 October SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, see the JPRS Report Soviet Union: Economic Affairs, JPRS-UEA-90-045, 19 December 1990, pages 10-13.

RSFSR

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Meets in Moscow 26 Dec

Yeltsin, Silayev View Budget

LD2612125590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossiya Network in Russian at 1100 GMT on 26 December carries a 4-minute report by correspondent Yelena Kuznetsova on the 26 December session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet, in Moscow.

Kuznetsova opens the report by noting that RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Boris Yeltsin and the delegates examined the RSFSR's draft 1991 budget, saying: "Comrade Yeltsin, who was chairing the sitting, said the RSFSR budget is being ratified prior to the Union budget. This is a principle position, as the intention was to shape the budget from below, which meets the interests of the entire Russian population and will make way to improvements already in 1991. Boris Nikolayevich continued, if we manage to withstand the pressure that will be exerted by union bodies, then we will be able to feel this improvement. We have discussed many times—I am quoting—70 billion [currency not specified] which is disappearing to nobody knows where, and we still have slums and miners without roofs over their heads. It is necessary to provide support for an agricultural program. The proposals being discussed at the union congress inflicted a blow to the authority of the RSFSR people's deputies congress, but we are not going to back down, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman stressed."

Kuznetsova then turns to comments by Ivan Silayev, RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman, saying: "We cannot afford, stressed Ivan Stepanovich, to organize more and more printing of money. This leads to complete bankruptcy. The budget must be constructive and not destructive. That is why—I am quoting—it contains only a 5 percent margin of deficit, which corresponds to world standards. The main aim of the law on the state budget is to stabilize the consumer market and to increase consumer goods, Comrade Silayev stressed."

At 1103 GMT, the Radio Rossiya announcer asks Kuznetsova: "Is there any news on the fate of the RSFSR finance minister, who IZVESTIYA says will possibly resign today?

Kuznetsova ends the report by answering: "I have no information on this. I can only say that after Silayev's report, there was a report by Igor Nikolayevich Lazarev, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Finance Ministry, instead of the RSFSR finance minister's report.

Continues Meeting 27 Dec

LD2712105290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 27 Dec 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] Just a moment ago we learned about what is going on at the session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet. Russian deputies stood in memory of the soldiers who died in Afghanistan. The agenda contains a single issue of bringing RSFSR legislative acts on agrarian issues in line with the RSFSR Constitution. At the beginning of the meeting, the deputies made a new year present to their electors. They declared 7 January, the religious holiday of Christmas, a non-working day.

Then Travkin, chairman of the committee for issues of work of soviets of people's deputies and developing self-administration, took the floor and asked to be relieved of the office. The session satisfied his request; Zhukov was elected the new chairman. [passage omitted]

Russian Trade Unions Prepare for Market

LD2612202590 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT 26 Dec 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—The plenary meeting of the Federation of Russian Independent Trade Unions (FRITU), which was held in Moscow today, examined its priorities in light of a forthcoming market economy.

"Risking to be accused of populism another time, we nevertheless declare it urgent for Russian trade unions to influence legislative and executive bodies at all levels toward reliable protection of working people in the coming market economy," FRITU Chairman Yegor Klochkov told the plenary meeting.

He focused on the deteriorating social and economic situation in the USSR and in Russia, the largest republic in the country, which is fraught with mass actions and strikes by working people.

"It is indicative that 53 per cent of those polled by the all-Union public poll centre in November do not know the principles, aims and possible consequences of reforms which are so heatedly debated by our legislators," Klochkov noted.

"Unaware which of the latest economic programmers will be adopted, people are lost in guesswork and lose confidence in the future."

Taking into account the present situation, the plenum took a decision insisting on an official approval and publication of lists of goods to be included in a "consumer basket" by the zones of the russian Federation and the size of a minimum consumer budget by social and demographic groups.

The decision also insists the population be regularly informed of changes in the index of retail prices and on the setting of a subsistance wage in the Russian Federation.

The FRITU leadership is instructed to organise several meetings and roundtables of union activists with government representatives, legislators and with authors of the programme to stabilise the economy and switch to market relations in the Russian Federation.

Participants in the roundtables will discuss and explain the programme's main ideas, above all the mechanism of social protection.

The plenum insists that the FRITU council and the Russian Government should conclude an agreement for 1991 recording mutual obligations on settling social and economic problems.

Plenum participants are determined to protest attempts to impose a moratorium on strikes in all industries in 1991. They described such proposals voiced at the current USSR Congress of People's Deputies as an offensive on the working people's legitimate rights.

Silayev Discusses Agriculture, Land, Prices

LD2312174390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1100 GMT on 23 December carries live a 60-minute studio phone-in show hosted by Aleksandr Belotserkovets with guest Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. Silayev responds to both written and phone-in questions.

Silayev begins by saying that it is very important to combat waste in agriculture, including potatoes, and the most important thing is that people need personal incentives. He answers questions about the financing of road construction in the non-Chernozem region and the supply of heat and hot water to rural homes. On supplies of fodder for small farmers he says: "Preparations are under way at this time for the signing of an economic agreement among the republics for 1991. Yesterday we looked at the drafts, and, under our proposals—and the Union government accepts this—we intend—with regret, I stress—to purchase a considerable amount of mixed feed, oil-seed meal, as it is called, from abroad. The necessary funds are being provided for this and I think we will be able to give a bare minimum of support to individual consumers as far as the fodder they need is concerned."

Silayev then says that the government is to allocate 1 billion rubles [R] in the draft budget to the Peasant Union, which, "on a contractual basis with us, will use these funds and resources to support either existing or newly created peasant holdings". He continues: "We have instructed our suppliers to do everything possible to ensure that the Union has at its disposal not just this R1 billion, but also technical and material resources." Silayev then answers questions on the feasibility of a peasant bank; steps to ease housing problems in the countryside; the shortage of packaging for grape growers; and the general desirability of attracting city-dwellers back to the countryside. On a question about a mechanism for setting farm prices, he says this is spelled out in the program for land reform and the revival of the countryside.

A listener then says she's heard that cotton prices will go up seven-fold. Silayev says: "We have also heard that there is a plan to increase cotton prices seven-fold. We haven't just heard this, but we know of the intentions of certain Union republics. This is regrettable and deplorable—that is how I would put it. We do not intend just to put up with this quietly, particularly because an economic agreement for 1991 is currently being formulated. The republics, the Union government, and the president are taking part in this. We are attempting to have the opportunity to purchase cotton in our main regions and republics—Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan—at traditional prices, and not seven-fold ones. I think we will manage to do so in some measure in 1991, and we will attempt to prevent a seven-fold increase."

Answering a question about shortages in the textile industry, Silayev says: "The trouble is that the situation in the country regarding discipline in reciprocal deliveries, and discipline in deliveries, not just within republics but also between republics, and the problems of imported raw materials, whereby considerably less hard currency has been allocated to obtain imported raw material, has created what I would call an almost catastrophic situation in light industry and the textile industry, and this has been the subject of special consideration together with textile workers and light industry workers, and the trade unions too. We have found a solution whereby we adopted a number of republican decisions, decisions on a number of questions, that create substantial prerequisites for improvement in the

way things work, from prices to pay. We have also agreed that a decision will be issued jointly with the Union government in the near future on the same subject, dealing with matters falling outside the possibilities of the RSFSR, and we found complete understanding here, including the allocation of hard currency for the purchase of imported raw materials."

Asked why "we hear less and less about the 500-day program", Silayev says: "I must say that I cannot altogether agree that we hear less and less about it, and that it's not mentioned any more. The program was mentioned again at the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, in the speech by Comrade Nazarbayev and other USSR people's deputies who spoke. Nevertheless, of course, I think that the question and the reproach are in some measure quite justified. I would just like to refer to a decision of our second extraordinary republican congress of people's deputies, which gave us until 20 January to refine the program in the light of the existing situation and the position as a whole, and to adopt and publish it. That is exactly what we will do."

RSFSR, DPRK Sign Economic Agreement

LD2612211390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] The Democratic people's Republic of Korea has become the first country in the Asia-Pacific region with which the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] has concluded an agreement on trade and economic cooperation.

Yakutsk Legislature Discusses Market Transition

LD2712033790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Two hours ago the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Yakut-Sakha Soviet Socialist Republic started its work. Issues of the social and economic development of this northern area and the republic's budget for next year are being discussed. Yakutsk is facing the transition to the market in a complicated situation. This is made worse by the fact that, since becoming a sovereign republic, it has still not been able to get rid of its status as a raw materials base.

Seven Die in Belgorod Oblast Train Crash

PM2412122990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In Region of Accident"]

[Text] On 22 December at 2120 hours in the region of Yelnikovo station, Belgorod Oblast, at the moment when the Kislovodsk-Leningrad passenger train No. 22 was passing, a tank car containing condensed gas on the line exploded. This was followed by a crash between the Moscow-Kharkov No. 237 passenger train and the derailed locomotive of train no. 22. Several cars caught fire. The conflagration was extinguished. According to preliminary reports as of 1000 hours 23 December, seven people died and 48 were injured in train no. 22; there were no casualties in train no. 237.

Representatives of the USSR Council of Ministers state commission for emergency situations headed by V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers commission for emergency situations headed by I.T. Gavrilov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, have arrived in the region of the accident. I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, has flown to Belgorod.

The headquarters for assisting the relations of the dead and injured is in the Belgorod station building. The oblast headquarters telephone number is 2-42-47 and at the railroad 7-32-20.

News Conference Launches BUTEK Newspaper

LD2112195290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 21 December in its "Vremya" newscast airs a two-minute video report by correspondent K. Kharaidze from a news conference held in the House of Journalists in Moscow by the Butek concern to mark the launching of its own newspaper, titled BUTEK. Kharaidze reports that most of the questions asked at the news conference were connected with Butek's activities. The Butek organization's achievements and problems were reflected in the first issue. The video accompanying the report shows footage of the news conference, including a diagram which shows that Butek consists of 401 state enterprises, of which 349 are situated in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR].

Kharaidze also interviews Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bocharov, USSR and RSFSR people's deputy and chairman of the RSFSR's Supreme Economic Council, who says that BUTEK is indeed a newspaper of the Butek concern and adds: "I do not want it to be a combination with the Supreme Economic Council, even though the Supreme Economic Council, I think, will contribute articles and proposals to this newspaper, among others."

He adds that Butek is an all-Union experiment, a major beginning of market interrelations, and a major commencement of understanding what may be happening in the economy in the near future. "Therefore, I think this newspaper must not only cover various problems of the concern. It will and must cover economic problems, economic issues, proposals from the provinces, from people who do not necessarily work in the concern."

Western Republics

Tax System To Bankrupt Moldovan Enterprises

LD2612214890 Moscow TASS in English 2134 GMT 26 Dec 90

[By MOLDOVA-PRESS Correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Alexander Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev December 27 TASS—About 40 per cent of Moldavian enterprises will go bankrupt as a result of a new tax system which will begin to operate from the new year, Moldavian Finance Minister Valeri Muravskiy told the MOLDAVA-PRESS news agency on Wednesday.

Earlier, a differented tax system operated in the republic. Enterprises paid various taxes on revenues in various industries. The new system will abolish subsidies to low-profit enterprises.

A decision on the development of small enterprises, taken by the Moldavian government, gives a chance to establish ventures with mixed types of property in place of bankrupt factories, Muravskiy noted.

These ventures may produce building materials, clothing, footwear and render domestic services. Small enterprises will be exempt from taxes on profits for several years.

The minister noted that the expected deficit of the republican budget would top one billion roubles in the new year. To cover this deficit, the government plans such unpopular measures as an increase in taxes on profits and the population's incomes.

Further on Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Session

Power Anniversary Marked

LD2312021390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1235 GMT 22 Dec 90

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev, 22 Dec [TASS]—A group of people's deputies of the Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic today made a statement on the forthcoming 73d anniversary of the proclamation of Soviet power in the Ukraine. It notes in particular that on 25 December 1917 the first all-Ukraine Congress of Soviets, expressing the will of the people of the Ukraine, proclaimed the transfer of power to the soviets of worker, soldier, and peasant deputies and the creation of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. The Ukrainian people made a historic choice, having chosen the socialist path of development.

All kinds of things have happened over the past 73 years, it is noted in the statement. Nothing should be forgotten. We are in favor of the truth of history and of the triumph of truth. Heroism and selflessness, self sacrifice in the name of a better future are closely interwoven with tragedies, injustice, and crude deformations of socialist ideas. We do not have the right to forget that it was on the path of socialist development that our own statehood was confirmed, that the Ukrainian people—separated over the centuries—united and that rebirth as a nation began. The current anniversary of the birth of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist state acquires a qualitatively new sound in light of the declaration of the state sovereignty of the Ukraine.

The statement also says: We address to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and to you, respected people's deputies, an appeal for support for the numerous proposals by the republic's labor collectives and by our electorate on extensive celebration of the 73d anniversary of the proclamation of Soviet power in the Ukraine.

Fokin Debates 1991 Budget

LD2512162590 Kiev International Service in English 0000 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Passages within quotation marks recorded; Fokin speaks in Russian fading into English translation]

[Text] [Announcer] The second session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic continued its work in Kiev today. The people's deputies discussed the financing of the social and economic development of Ukraine in 1991, linking this program to the republic's budget. Several days back, the parliamentarians had already familiarized themselves with the two government drafts. At today's plenary sitting, all the standing committees of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, without exception, put forth their general assessment. The tone of the general debate was set by the chairman of the Commission on Planning, Budget, Finances and Prices, Andrey Pecherov.

According to the analysis, the plan has been formed on the basis of a concept elaborated prior to the orientation of the transition to market economy. As a result, it does not ensure the stability of the economic situation, does not even create prerequisites for appearance of market relations. The plan doesn't envisage equal opportunities for the development of different forms of ownership, for active, antimonopolistic policy, introduction of measures for privatization, improvement of the financial and monetary turnover, introduction of system of [word indistinct] social guarantees, said Andrey Pecherov.

It is envisaged to cut production in comparison with the level of the current year of electricity, gasoline, diesel fuel, coal—that is, all types of products the shortage of which will already in the first year negatively affect all the branches of the economy without exception. Essential changes for the better in the supply of necessity goods are not planned either. Secondly, if the proposed draft of the main trends will be adopted as the basis of the economy, then there is no hope that the inflation process will be curtailed, and the living standard of the population will improve. Thus, the increase of the consumer

products by only 2.2 percent with the rise of monetary incomes by 16.1 percent evokes great concern. Also unchanged remain the principles for setting up the volume of supply of foodstuffs to the Union-republican fund. As a result, as was the case previously, those regions which consume food will be in a better situation than those who produce them, said Andrey Pecherov.

The chairman of the Ukraine's Council of Ministers, Vitold Fokin, appeared in the role of an opponent to all those speaking today at the session. He had to undergo serious trials. This is no exaggeration insofar as a mountain of criticism fell on him for the government draft law which he had put forward.

[Fokin] "The draft plan and budget for the republic's development in 1991 put forward by the chairman of the commission, Pecherov, was mercilessly criticized in the supplementary reports, but, respected colleagues, the plan and budget are not a landscape which can be more or less painted in a talented way. Both the plan and budget reflect the state of affairs in the country, the situation which has come about."

[Announcer] Vitold Fokin, with bitterness, acknowledged that the USSR Government in every way tries to infringe upon the state sovereignty proclaimed by Ukraine.

[Fokin] "First, a few words about the relations between the Ukraine's budget and that of the Soviet Union. Insofar as the Soviet finance minister did not keep his promises and did not give agreement for the full subsidies to the coal industry—as you know, it involves 15.5 billion roubles, but the USSR Finance Ministry allots only 6 billion roubles—I propose we take such a decisive step to leave in the republican budget all 100 percent of the deduction in the turnover of (?old) enterprises, regardless of their subordination. [applause]"

[Announcer] This applause testifies that our parliament with understanding apprehends the endeavors of the republic's government to protect its national sovereignty. The proposal of Vitold Fokin says the opposite. It concerns concrete ways of eliminating the big budget deficit of the Ukraine, which now makes up almost 12 billion roubles. At the same time, an (?unreserved) choice is being made by the Ukraine of its full right to itself manage its economic (?future).

[Fokin] "Second, it is proposed to expand the republic's own management of the metallurgic and coal industries, as well. Enough hesitation and doubt! Miners have been trying to achieve this for two years already. We promised them this, and must keep our word."

[Announcer] Vitold Fokin singled out that the coal industry of the Ukraine should be transformed from unprofitableness to, themselves, set the price on coal and sell it on contract to all those who wish to buy. The rise in the price of coal should not frighten the consumer; such is the reality of market economy, and for certain categories of the population—especially the needy—the government proposes to sell coal at its cost price, that is, at low prices. For the next year, pointed out Vitold Fokin, we plan to increase radically donations from the Ukraine's budget for improvement of the republic's economic infrastructure. A special priority will be given to the development of agroindustrial complex, construction, science and technology. Social programs will be also in the center of attention. Here is one of the measures which were suggested by the government:

The government thinks it necessary to raise salaries for teachers, tutors, physicians up to the average monthly payments of white collar and blue collar workers. For this purpose, it will be necessary to donate additional 1.6 billion rubles from the budget. I hope very much that the parliament members will also support this undertaking of the government, said Vitold Fokin.

The head of the Ukraine's Government pointed out that next year the allocations for the budget will make up almost 58 billion rubles. The sum is huge and sufficient enough for satisfying the basic requirements of the republic, but the fact still remains that over 12 percent of these financial resources of the republic will make up the budget deficit. So, the task is to eliminate it as painlessly as possible and stage by stage. But, in order to do so, it is necessary to reject certain quite expensive programs which cannot be realized in this period, but all that will not be done at the expense of vital interests of the population. Vitold Fokin addressed the parliament with a request of an all-round support of the government's actions.

[Fokin] "Today, as never before, we have to act jointly, irrespective of attitude toward each other. Public efforts should prevail over personal ambitions. Professional, regional, and other interests should be thrown away. We should think together how to make our life, the life of the people in our Ukraine in the next year, better, to revive in the souls of the people a hope for a better tomorrow."

[Announcer] However, the debate on the government's bills tended to a sharp discussion. The majority of the deputies expressed a desire that these documents be finalized by their authors with consideration of the deputies' proposals and amendments, because it is necessary to cross the T's in all provisions which concern socioeconomic of Ukraine next year. The demands of the parliament members to the government can be understood: They want to see it as a government which corresponds to all requirements of the republic which has stepped on the road of sovereignty. As for the search for more fruitful ways for the social progress of the Ukraine, it goes far beyond the dialogue between our parliament and government. It is a complicated issue, and all the people in our republic are interested in its solution.

Union Treaty Debated

LD2612153490 Kiev International Service in English 0001 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Excerpts] The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine continued its work today in Kiev. [passage omitted]

Today the session of Ukraine's Supreme Soviet adopted several important—in my opinion—resolutions. The first one of them is on Ukraine's joining the optional protocol of the international pact on civil and political rights. A resolution was also adopted on implementation of the declaration on state sovereignty of the republic in the sphere of foreign relations. Speaking about this resolution, the Ukraine's foreign minister, Anatolliy Zlenko, underlined:

[Begin Zlenko recording in Ukrainian with superimposed English translation] The significance of this resolution first of all lies in the fact that it has to establish the legal basis and financial foundations for the external economic and political activities of our republic. All the provisions which are envisaged by this draft resolution [word indistinct] the line on the declaration on the state sovereignty. They are relying also on the corresponding provisions of the constitution. I would like to single out that if we manage to adopt this resolution today, we will have to return about 1.5 million rubles to the Ukraine's budget. So far, all [word indistinct] money collections which were carried out by our foreign ministry were channeled to the Union budget, said Anatoliy Zlenko. [end recording]

Two hundred thirty people's deputies voted for this docuement. So, in conformity with the temporary order of the day of the parliament, it was adopted. A no less significant resolution of the Supreme Soviet was also a document on results of exchange of opinion on principles of concluding a Union treaty. In part it says, quote:

Taking into account vital interests of the Ukrainian people, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] thinks it necessary to enter negotiations with Soviet republics on preparation of the draft of a Union treaty being guided by the provisions of the declaration on the state sovereignty of Ukraine, and with consideration of the adopted laws and resolutions of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, unquote.

However, this resolution was not adopted, because the parliamentarians first of all did not agree with its certain items, and, secondly, they did not agree to approve the suggested composition of the Ukraine's delegation for negotiations on preparing a draft of the new Union treaty. So the deputies will have to return to this resolution once more. [passage omitted]

Session Concludes 26 Dec

LD2612203190 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 26 Dec 90

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Stanislav Volnyansky]

[Text] Kiev December 26 TASS—The Ukrainian parliament ended its session here today.

During the session, which lasted for almost three months, the parliament adopted important documents concerning social and economic problems, including the concept and programme for the transition to market relations, the laws on preferential development of rural areas and the agro-industrial complex, on price formation, budget system, taxation services, on local councils of people's deputies and on police.

The parliament also adopted a land code, the main guidelines for the republic's social and economic development and a resolution on food supplies in the first quarter of 1991. It has also passed the republican budget for 1991.

The session has introduced amendments to the republican constitution. Deputies exchanged opinions on signing a Union treaty and distributing powers between central and republican managing bodies.

"The adopted documents and open debates have produced a considerable effect, stabilising the situation in the republic," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said. "We are gradually moving towards a rule-of-law state and respect for law. We are doing away with the legislative nihilism, which often hampers our work."

Kravchuk said hard work still awaits the parliament. "the situation in the republic is difficult. Shop counters are empty. There is a lack of harmony and civil peace in the republic, which could help us work and live like a dynamic society. We should move out of the crisis together with people," he said.

Kravchuk wished happiness and success in the new year to deputies, all residents of the Ukraine and compatriots living beyond the republic's borders. "Let 1991 be a year of understanding between people of various views and political convictions, let it be a year of accord," he said.

Ukrainian Party Congress Proceedings Reported

PM2412150190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Dec 90 Second Edition p 3

[M. Odinets, I. Tikhomirov "Notes from the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress": "Time for Tough Decisions"]

[Text] Kiev—The very first speaker in the debate began with the following words: "It is hard to imagine a more alarming or more complex situation in the life of our party and country than the one prevailing today."

Indeed, Krivoy Rog worker V. Pavlyuk arrived at the previous congress of Ukrainian Communists straight from the labor front. He spoke about labor accomplishments at the party forum. The anticommunist forces which have surfaced now are calling upon him to strike, to put an end to the party, and even to change the political system altogether...

Even the headlines of articles in the republican press, published on the day the congress opened, convey the degree of current tension: "Who Is Impeded by the Ukrainian Communist Party?", "Will the Communists Hold Onto Power?", "It Is Impossible to March Backwards Into the Future", "Who Was Bandera?", "What Does the Forthcoming Congress Hold in Store for Us?"...

Unfortunately, the newspapers were not exaggerating. To put it mildly, the "opponents" were going all out to organize a series of anticongress actions with the maximum possible effect. There were importunate slogans to strike, to join demonstrations and rallies, to compromise the Ukrainian Communist Party and its congress by any means.

Appraising the current moment in time, keynote speaker S.I. Gurenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, declared: Life has confirmed: on the whole, our appraisal of the sociopolitical situation and the basic trends of its development at the first stage of the congress was correct. This made it possible to adopt substantiated decisions and to accelerate the perestroyka of party political work and the democratization of party life. But we have not advanced as far as we would have liked in the implementation of these decisions... It is well known that this particular period saw a sharp intensification of attacks against the Communist Party, attacks which increasingly became all-out and uncivilized. A downpour of demagoguery, lies, and simply gross abuse descended upon Communists. Under this pressure, some comrades lost their composure and started losing sight of the political guidelines, and some people have been unable to recover to this day..."

Be this as it may, S.I. Gurenko went on to note, we resolutely reject any charges of inaction. Quite a few party links have performed intense and quite successful work. Especially noteworthy is the persistent and constructive activity carried out by Odessa, Zhitomir, Kharkov, and several other obkoms [oblast party committees]. Party committees and Communists in Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, Ternopol, and Chernovitsy Oblasts are taking a clear-cut principled stand and are courageously resisting the pressure by anticommunist neototalitarian forces. On the whole, the level of political activeness has been noticeably raised in many of the republic's party organizations.

It is, therefore, obvious that these were not the results expected by those who organized and implemented them. [sentence as published] It is especially necessary to single out the events surrounding the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet's second session. It was there that the frontline of confrontation between the republic's main political forces was most clearly drawn. Communists are not to blame for the fact that the level of tension is constantly hovering around the brink of crisis.

Numerous complaints and accusations are voiced regarding the session's fruitlessness and the inadequate counteraction to the opposition's destructive actions. Indeed, Communist deputies at times did not do enough and were not always prepared for everything, mainly for the downright obstructionist attacks by the opposition which bordered—and actually still border—on hooliganism. Many people's eyes were opened only after the qualitatively new change in the situation, which came as a kind of shock to them. The "moment of truth" arrived with the October-November events in Kiev, when anticommunists resorted to actions which have by now dispersed any remaining doubts about the kind of forces we are dealing with and the goals they are pursuing.

Following the television programs which shocked the entire republic, some people have finally abandoned all illusions about the pseudodemocrats, while others have overcome the state of civic passiveness. The best proof of this was offered by the celebration of the Great October's 73d anniversary, by the meetings and mass events which condemned political extremism and supported the majority in the Supreme Soviet.

The wave of protest which rolled over the republic can no longer be described as some kind of forced actions organized by party bosses. Failure awaits the "People's Council" leaders and the mass media which, while endlessly proclaiming their independence, are in fact obsequiously serving anticommunism in all its varieties. At the same time, it was noted at the congress, the republic's broad public masses could have been roused against political extremism a lot earlier and with much weightier results.

A far from rhetorical question was asked at the congress: What is the so-called "Rukh Guard," whom is it protecting, and against what? Does this not mean that today's apologists of unreserved and unrestrained "departyization" are preparing their own parties' storm troopers [shturmovyye otryady] so that tomorrow they might replace not only the law and order organs but even the Army?

The sociopolitical situation cannot remain unaffected by the fact that party committees and primary party organizations are still slow in mastering the political methods of work. Some people display a leaning toward conservative and dogmatic views. One can notice among a certain section of Communists the spread of leftist feelings which are equally dangerous for the party, a kind of party nihilism which does not recognize discipline or the statute's requirements. All this will ultimately have a

tangible effect on the Ukrainian Communist Party's political prestige, on the confidence in it and in its leadership organs.

The congress devoted perfectly justifiable attention to young people. Young people's moods are rapidly changing and, unfortunately, not doing so for the better. Speakers S. Derzhanskaya, deputy director of a Ternopol Oblast school; S. Vovchenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol [Lenin Communist Youth League] (Democratic Youth League) Central Committee; Yu. Pankratov, member of the Carpathian Military District Military Council; and others noted in their statements that young men's and women's immature souls today are exposed to so much misleading information, to so many malicious and deliberate lies, that a sizeable proportion of them are losing sight of their world outlook and moral guidelines. The living bonds between generations are being broken, there is growing disenchantment and lack of spirituality. The role of catalyst in these destructive processes is played by a series of youth media, including some headed by party members. It was no accident that speakers from the congress rostrum expressed the opinion that the stance taken by their editors deserves careful examination and principled appraisal by party committees.

The opposition is banking mainly on young people, on university and high school students, along its path to the seizure of power. During the well known October events, the young people in essence found themselves hostages whom sly politicians were prepared to sacrifice for the sake of their own ambitious goals.

So, young people merit paramount attention. The congress drew the necessary conclusions on this account. There were 24 young Communists elected to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee on recommendation by oblast party delegations and the Komsomol.

Shortcomings in Communists' work, especially in the ideology sphere, are also to blame for the fact that several new parties and sociopolitical movements are enjoying support among a part of the population. Their political programs are still crystallizing. It is worth noting, however, that having begun their activities with popular slogans for society's renewal, for national rebirth, and for assertion of human rights and freedoms—mainly borrowed from the CPSU—most of them are now changing their orientation, denying the actual correctness of the socialist choice, and actively striving to seize the structures of power.

Delegates declared that, in its support for the process of establishing a real multiparty system, the Ukrainian Communist Party recognizes that other parties, professing a different ideology, also have the right to exist. But they took a clear-cut stance toward anticommunism, including philistine and bellicose anticommunism which is already frequently adopting criminal forms: It is dangerous primarily because it fans hatred among people which, in its own turn, stimulates cruelty and violence.

It was unanimously emphasized: The Ukrainian Communist Party will persistently struggle to implement the ideas of national rebirth, but the republic's Communists categorically reject the ideology of national chauvinism, which does not tolerate social equilibrium and claims dominance in mass awareness. A typical expression of this is the aggressive intolerance which has recently been displayed by Rukh even toward cautious manifestations of liberalism. Neototalitarian, and even frankly fascist slogans can already be heard coming from its right-wing flank. The danger of these trends was discussed in speeches by writer B. Oleynik; Z. Kuravskiy, first secretary of Ivano-Frankovsk party obkom; A. Korniyenko, first secretary of Kiev Ukrainian Communist Party Gorkom [city committee]; and others.

Another cause of alarm is the danger of national extremism's fusion with religious extremism. One would have thought that religious tolerance would have dawned in the republic following the registration of the Greek Catholic and the Autocephalous churches. As a result of actions by "national radicals," however, interconfessional disputes have exacerbated further still. Everything is being done to switch them to the religious-national plane.

The situation has become extremely acute in several of the Ukraine's western oblasts, where new organs of local power are striving to change the very nature of the social order. Attempts are being made, under the intoxicating effect of the ideas of "Galician messianism," to spread the so-called "Lvov option" to other regions. Delegates said that recent events and the decisions and actions undertaken by leaders and aktiv members of anticommunist groupings, especially in Lvov Oblast, prompt an unambiguous conclusion: They have overstepped the boundary, beyond which the law will have to have its say.

Newly hatched "democrats" are especially banking on Kiev, where the crisis of local power is sufficiently tangible today. It must be noted, however, that the influx of Galician emissaries, with several Ukrainian SSR and USSR people's deputies constantly among them, is encountering increasingly resolute resistance both in Kiev and in several of the republic's oblasts, as indicated in speeches by the following first secretaries of Ukrainian Communist Party obkoms: V. Lisovenko from Chernigov, V. Fedorov from Zhitomir, and R. Bodelan from Odessa. Furthermore, having provoked sharp clashes, the uninvited guests, in their usual manner, blame the Communists for them. Today it is the nationalist and anticommunist groupings that pose the gravest danger for society, for the preservation of the republic's territorial integrity, for the assertion of its state sovereignty.

Something else is also noticeable: Gradually realizing the real threat of a social disaster, the people are increasingly

soberly appraising the extremist aspirations. This is precisely why Rukh's popularity is declining even in the western oblasts.

The congress was unanimous: The main demand of the day is to stabilize the economic, political, and legal situation and to attain national and democratic accord among all participants in the political process. This is precisely why Communists in the Ukraine show understanding for the program put forward by the country's president and deem it necessary to support it. Major hopes are pinned on the unity of actions by union republics, whose legal foundations ought to be provided by the new Union Treaty.

"I think that our stance must be this: We are consciously and consistently in favor of the Union Treaty," L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, declared.

"I believe," Yu. Syrovatka, chairman of Lugansk Oblast's "Pamyat Lenina" Kolkhoz [collective farm], said from the congress rostrum, "that the time has come to clearly declare: Our ideal is a united and mighty union of equal republics."

"The Donbass perceives its future," he was seconded by congress delegate A. Istratov, head of the "Azovstal" Combine's shop party committee, "only within a union of sovereign republics."

M. Fekete, cutter at Mukachevo's "Barvinok" Association, said from the congress rostrum: Transcarpathian Communists instructed me to say that they perceive their future destiny as inseparable from the destiny of a free and sovereign Ukraine as part of a renewed union.

The Ukrainian Communist Party congress firmly advocated the conclusion of the Union Treaty and expressed support for the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee December plenum. At the same time, in the congress' opinion, the published draft treaty requires additional work.

People's material conditions and their living standards are now directly linked with the economy's transition to market relations, with the difficulties and possible losses in the transition period. The Ukrainian Communist Party considers these problems to be among the most important ones, and will persistently pursue a policy of the population's social security.

The fruitful nature of the work done by the Ukrainian Communists' forum is quite eloquently indicated by the actual list of documents they adopted: The resolutions "On the Present Time and the Ukrainian Communist Party's Socioeconomic Policy," "The Ukraine's Communists and the Soviets of People's Deputies," "The Ukrainian Communist Party and the Trade Unions," "On the Mass Media," "On Attempts to Rehabilitate the OUN-UPA [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists—Ukrainian Insurrection Army]", "On the Report by the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress Commission for the Study of Party Documents Associated with the Chernobyl Tragedy," "On the Results of an Inspection of the Party Budget's Utilization," "On the Results of a Study of the Question of Privileges for Officials of Ukrainian Communist Party Organs," and so on.

The congress worked out fine, delegates said on departure.

And how about the opponents' actions? They collapsed! There were no strikes, while a hundred or so excited kids pretended to hold mass demonstrations.

Ethnic Conflict Seen in Ukraine Railway Unit

LD2612160890 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] Weapons had to be used to stop the conflict that occurred over ethnic tensions in the railway troops battalion stationed in the Trans-Carpathian Oblast town of Chop. Two conflicting groups tried to sort out their relations by means of force: servicemen from the middle Asian and Trans-Caucasian republics. Twenty-two people were injured in the conflict, there of them are in a serious condition, and more than 90 soldiers escaped from the unit's barracks. Shortly thereafter all but two of them returned to the unit. A criminal case has been initiated on this conflict, and the investigation is currently under way.

Kiev City Soviet Elects New Chairman

PM2612165190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 90 Second Edition p 8

[M. Odinets report: "At Long Last!.."]

[Text] Kiev, 22 Dec—Early last spring our newspaper carried a report entitled "And the City Soviet Session Is Still Sitting..." It said that the city's municipal services were in a state of disorder, while the session was finding it impossible to elect a chairman of the Kiev City Soviet. The fair criticism at that time produced attacks by some deputies.

At long last, after a hard day of voting which abounded with verbal battles and procedural games, a chairman of the Kiev City Soviet and the Kiev City Soviet Executive Committee was elected—Grigoriy Dmitriyevich Malishevskiy who, until his election, was head of the large No. Construction and Installation Trust under the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Ministry of Construction (presently the "Kievinvest" Joint Stock Firm). He gained 167 votes, representing 58 percent of the total number of deputies.

Caucasus

Situation in South Ossetia, Georgia 'Tense'

LD2612151490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] The situation in South Ossetia and in Georgia remains generally tense. Lieutenant-General Smyslov, first deputy commander of internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, visited the republic in connection with this. According to him, the situation in the south of the republic remains complicated and explosive. It is of particular concern that the structures of power and of the law and order bodies have been destroyed and autonomous oblasts have been eliminated. This has led to an exacerbation of both socioeconomic and interethnic problems as well as to an increase in crime. The only force stabilizing the situation is the officers and soldiers of the internal troops and a small contingent of students of the Tbilisi higher militia school.

Georgia Signs Economic Agreement With Moldova

[By Eduard Ediberidze, SAKARTVELO agency correspondent]

LD2312050790 Moscow TASS International Service in Persian 1320 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Tbilisi, 22 Dec (TASS)—Moldova has become the fourth republic—after Estonia, the Ukraine, and Azerbaijan—with which the new Georgian government has concluded an agreement on economic and cultural cooperation. The agreement was signed here by the heads of government of the republics, Mircha Druk of Moldova and Tengiz Sigua of Georgia.

The sides agreed to cooperate in the preservation, establishment, and extension of direct economic links between enterprises and organizations for mutual trade in raw materials, output, consumer goods, and the rendering of services, taking into account the transition to market relations. It was decided during the course of two months to complete the conclusion of treaties and agreements in the sphere of general economic problems and finance and credit policy, of the development of the social sphere and national culture, of the consumer market, of scientific and technical progress, of information technology and ecology, and in other areas to develop cooperation.

Armenian President Discusses Domestic Situation

AU2512192490 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 18 Dec 90 p 3

[Interview with Levon Ter-Petrosyan, president of Armenian Supreme Council, by Szerdahelyi; place and date not given: "The First 100 Days of the Armenian 'Uprising'—Yerevan Does Not Want War"; first two paragraphs are NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] Soviet Armenia has been led by Levon Ter-Petrosyan for a little more than 100 days. The 45-year-old scientist, who spent the last twelve years as a scientific member of the famous Matenadaran Library in Yerevan, was close to the opposition politics in those years too. The fact that he was first arrested in 1966, while still a student, also proves this.

By the end of 1988, however, he had already spent six months in the Butirka Prison in Moscow, as chairman of the Karabakh Committee. Since the end of this summer, he has been elected president of the Supreme Council by the will of the people expressed in the first free elections in Armenia. We asked Levon Ter-Petrosyan to sum up the past 100 days and next year's tasks.

[Szerdahelyi] What did you achieve in these first 100 days?

[Petrosyan] I regard the elections as a political milestone because, from now on, my country can advance on a new and free road of development, albeit under certain limitations. Our parliament declared Armenia's independence on 23 August and, ever since, we have been striving to add content to this form. Under our conditions, 100 days seem to be a shorter and even more difficult period of time than the same period in the Central European countries. We have begun to restructure the leadership and revive the organizations. We are engaged in a pioneering activity, in the real sense of the word, because we were the first in both the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to revolt against tyranny—as early as in February 1988.

[Szerdahelyi] We know the results of this revolt. In the meantime, however, Armenia is drifting toward civil war. Do you not think so?

[Petrosyan] Indeed, there is a danger of civil war, but this danger emerged in the preelection period. Armed groups took action against the Communist leadership. I would not, however, call the situation in Mount Karabakh and Azerbaijan a civil war situation, because here we are talking about a very serious conflict between two countries. While the Kremlin continues to support Baku, however, Yerevan can only count on itself in this affair.

[Szerdahelyi] ...As well as on weapons coming from the Middle East. At least, the world press reports on such transactions....

[Petrosyan] According to my latest reports, no foreign weapons are pouring into Armenia. I must reject this version of Middle East arms purchases!

[Szerdahelyi] At the same time, there are also opinions according to which the government is not in control of the situation. What is your opinion on this?

[Petrosyan] The Armenian Government is in control of the situation in every issue. I must add that our government continues to avoid preparations for war, although, at the moment, I really do not see any hope of negotiating with Baku.

[Szerdahelyi] What economic conditions did you inherit?

[Petrosyan] We are not in danger, but we will only be able to avoid danger if we hold intensive negotiations with other republics and seek foreign partners. Earlier, we thought of the possibility of a southern common market, but this is not a realistic goal today. We want to have trade relations primarily with the Russian Republic, but by avoiding the central economic management, because we consider this to be a useless and parasitic link.

[Szerdahelyi] What are your relations with foreign countries like?

[Petrosyan] We have two-level relations. We enjoy relatively big support from our compatriots living in exile, and we receive constant aid for restoration work following the earthquake of 1988. The fact that foreign countries do not recognize, or are afraid to recognize the independent Armenia makes it difficult for us to seek foreign contacts. Perhaps, we could make the first step by contacts between parliamentary delegations, including Hungary.

[Szerdahelyi] Does Yerevan continue to stick to its decision not to sign the planned new federation agreement?

[Petrosyan] We cannot sign it in its current form. After many decades of oppression, Moscow can blackmail our republic with a lot of things. Moscow, however, is probably not interested in again making this country a prison of nations. The Armenians will not again bow their heads to selfish big power interests, even if the first years of freedom are extremely difficult.

Armenian Deputy Says To Stop Aiding Gorbachev

AU2412090990 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 22-23 Dec 90 p 4

[Livia Klingl report: "The Dictator With the Tender Face"]

[Text] Vienna—"By supporting Gorbachev Europe provides the Soviet president with the opportunity to suppress the individual republics," says Khachik Stamboltian, biophysicist and independent deputy in the Armenian legislature, in an interview with DER STANDARD.

In the Soviet republics irreversible changes have taken place. There is the danger that Gorbachev's attempts to suppress the republics might cause a civil war, which might "very quickly spread beyond the Soviet borders." "We ask Europe to stop this support. Gorbachev is nothing but a dictator with a tender face."

One of the biggest problems in the Armenian legislature are the 42 percent Communists. They are blocking the adoption of many laws. Nevertheless, Yerevan has achieved two successes: The proclamation of the independence of the republic and the dissolution of the communist offices in enterprises and organizations. Freedom of opinion, press, and religion have been provisionally anchored by law. A new constitution is being worked out.

Concerning aid after the earthquake, Moscow has not kept its promises. Now there is even an attempt not to let relief shipments go to Armenia on the basis of false reports about "the unsafe situation." "At the moment Armenia is the quietest part of the Soviet Union," Stamboltian says.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Debates Amendments

Christmas Holidays Approved

NC2512085390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1950 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet's 24 December morning session concluded the debate on the partial amendments to the law on local soviets. The Supreme Soviet adopted relevant legislation on amending the law on elections of people's deputies for city, city-rayon, rayon, town, and village soviets.

Saakyan, secretary of the Supreme Soviet, read a letter of resignation from People's Deputy Suren Arutyunyan because of his transfer to a post abroad. The Supreme Soviet approved the resignation and in accordance with Article 2 of the law on temporary status of the Armenian Republic's people's deputies terminated Suren Arutyunyan's powers as deputy from No. 232 electoral district of Nor-Hachin.

The Supreme Soviet relieved People's Deputy Zora Manyan from membership in the Human Rights and Nationalities Affairs Commission at his request. The Supreme Soviet also heard a proposal from the Credentials and Ethics Committee and endorsed the credentials of People's Deputies (?Devirchiyan), Karapetyan, and Asatryan who were elected in the runoff elections on 3 December 1990.

Next, a bill on Armenian's state, national, ecclesiastical, public, and commemorative holidays was submitted for debate. The deputies were presented with three versions of the bill. The deputies and invited experts did not accept some of the articles and points unequivocally. The views differed on 8 March, 1 May, Victory Day, and other holidays. The deputies demanded that holidays requiring a non-working day should be clarified. It was difficult to reach a final decision. Therefore, the legislature first discussed the upcoming Christmas public holidays. They unanimously agreed to celebrate the Christmas holidays in the republic between 31 December and 6 January. Thus, 31 December and 1, 2, and 6 January will be non-working days. The debate on the rest of the bill will continue.

Local Soviets Formation Delayed

NC2612125390 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2200 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] Yesterday's session of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet discussed the situation that has developed in Armenia regarding the local elections and the associated duties expected from the the Armenian legislature. The delay in forming the local organs of authority is naturally leading to anarchy, and the result might be fateful for the Armenian Republic, which has initiated the process of independence. It is obvious that the legislature will take serious measures to stabilize the situation. Before discussing bills on amendments and additions to the laws concerning the town, village, city, city-rayon, and rayon soviets of people's deputies, the people's deputies examined a proposal presented by the administrative board of the Armenian Pannational Movement for a series of amendments on the local soviets' functions.

During its evening session the legislature discussed the bill on Armenia's national holidays and commemorative days. The legislature decided to consider the bill presented by the Commission for the Establishment of Independent Statehood and National Policy Affairs the basis for the debate.

Session To Resume After 6 Jan

NC2612133290 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0400 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] During its 25 December morning session the Armenian Republic's legislature continued to debate the bill on state, national, ecclesiastical, public and commemorative holidays. The deputies expressed mutually exclusive views on certain traditional holidays and could not come to a unanimous decision.

New amendments were introduced for the laws concerning the local self-administration bodies.

As is already known, certain standing commissions of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet have not yet been fully formed or do not have chairmen. The legislature therefore discussed this issue again. It elected acting chairmen and members for a number of commissions. Closed and secret voting took place to elect the chairman of the Commission for the Establishment of Independent Statehood and National Policy Affairs.

The full-scale sessions of the legislature were adjourned until after the Christmas holidays.

Armenian Presidium, NKAO Representatives Meet

NC2512085890 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1950 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Text] The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium held an expanded meeting on 22 December with the participation of the members of the government and directors of economic sectors in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The meeting discussed shortcomings in the oblast's economy and its social tension. Relevant decisions were made.

Armenian Communist Party Leader Visits NKAO

NC2512080290 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Report by ARMENPRES correspondent Aleksandr Grigoryan from Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast: "Nagorno-Karabakh: Where Lies the Truth?"]

[Text] Stepanakert, 24 Dec (ARMENPRES)—Stepan Pogosyan, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, came to Stepanakert on 22 December.

Answering an ARMENPRES correspondent's question [while he was here] about the reason for his visit, the leader of Armenia's communists said: "I am definitely concerned with the siutuation in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO]. Very high-level people in Moscow, including the country's president, with whom I met recently, were trying to assure me that I was misinformed about the situation in NKAO. They specifically told me that there were no special Azerbaijani detachments or other armed organizations at Stepanakert airport. These claims prompted me to visit NKAO and see for myself.

"I stumbled upon the special purpose detachments, which were armed with automatic weapons, as soon as I deplaned. I was even questioned.

"I also visited the Stepanakert railroad station. Not a gram of flour has come in here for a month. The central television's accusation that the freight is allegedly not being unloaded is therefore untrue [because no freight cars are coming in].

"Also, one must mention the grave conditions under which the Armenians of Artsakh are living. I will inform the country's leadership about everything I saw; during this meeting I will be a witness for the Armenian side."

The first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee met the leaders of NKAO, the USSR people's deputies, and the people's deputies of the Armenian Republic from NKAO.

Stepan Pogosyan was accompanied on his visit by Yuriy Mkrtumyan, a member of the CPSU Central Committee and director of Yerevan State University's Ethnographic Studies Chair, and by the deputy editor of HAYASTAN Genrikh Abramyan.

Attempted Bus Explosion Extends NKAO Curfew

LD2212204390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 90

[By unidentified TASS correspondent]

[Text] Stepanakert, 22 Dec (TASS)—An attempt was made this morning to blow up a service bus carrying a group of officers and warrant officers of the USSR Ministry of Internal affairs on the highway near the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] oblast center. The TASS correspondent was informed in the commandant's office about the special emergency situation in the region, where, by a lucky chance, a powerful explosion, which made a crater four metres in diameter in the roadway, occurred seconds after the bus passed the spot where the mine was planted. One serviceman was injured by glass fragments, and the bus was seriously damaged.

Cases of armed attacks against servicemen and details of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops have been occurring with increasing frequency in NKAO. In December 1990, checkpoints and vehicle convoys were fired on several times in Mardakertskiy rayon, injuring four servicemen.

Following the incident, passport restrictions have been stepped up, checks are being carried out on motor vehicle transport on the roads, and the curfew has been extended from 2200 to 0600 local time. An investigative flying squad of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs is working at the scene of the incident.

Azerbaijani Strategy Termed 'Legalized Theft'

NC2112220990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0400 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Report by ARMENPRES' Special Correspondent Grigoryan in Stepankert; date not given: "Nagorno-Karabakh: Willful Theft"]

[Text] Azerbaijan is resorting to everything to suppress the will of Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Recently, we encountered yet another manifestation of the neighbors' willful policy: railway brigandage. They plunder the foodstuffs sent for the Armenian population in the autonomous oblast. In particular, they plunder flour and other freight. At the instruction of the Azerbaijani leaders, on 20 October the Azerbaijanis at Agdam, Barda and [name indistinct] railway stations began to confiscate goods sent to NKAO. Robert Bagdasaryan, head of the gross trade association in NKAO, told this to an ARMENPRES correspondent. Later, it transpired that the Council of Ministers of the neighboring republic had made arrangements for the Azerbaijani State Committee for Material and Technical Supply to redistribute this freight outside the oblast's borders. A special commission was even set up for this purpose. We informed the president of the USSR, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, USSR Committee for State Security, the chairmen of the All-Union State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, and the USSR minister of internal affairs and minister of railways of this, but nothing has changed.

As you can see, we are facing virtually legalized theft. The central news agencies nonetheless sing their old songs when they describe this plunder as merely an economic sanction and a redistribution of the freight. They also blame the Armenians for allegedly refusing to unload the freight cars.

Azerbaijanis Reportedly Taking Armenian Gas

NC2612130090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0400 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] The plundering of gas, which is going completely unpunished, has begun at the main natural gas pipeline entering Armenia. The neighboring republic, which has become used to resorting to various provocations and blockades, has resorted to new brigandage and has started to expropriate a substantial amount of natural gas allocated for Armenia. As a result, the stable operations of the enterprises and heating centers have been disrupted.

Haytransgaz [Armenian gas transportation association] has stated that instead of the 24 million cubic meters of gas alloted to Armenia daily, only about 13 million cubic meters of gas are crossing Azerbaijan into Armenia. The Azerbaijanis declare: We are taking as much as we need; the rest is for you. The center is well aware of this situation, but as usual remains silent.

Food, Fuel Supply Problems Continue in NKAO

NC2612142790 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1950 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] Will the three freight cars loaded with flour and sent from Armenia ever reach Stepanakert? According to information available, they are now at Agdam railway station. This question would have sounded very strange had the various types of freight sent to the Armenian population of the oblast not been squandered with impunity. In the fourth quarter of this year alone more than 200 freight cars loaded with goods have been impounded along the Azerbaijani railways. These goods were sent to the local wholesale trade association in accordance with [word indistinct] previously concluded agreements. No premeditated anti-Armenian measure could, however, bring disaster to the Armenians of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO]. The oblast's farms have undertaken fully to provide the residents of Stepanakert with food for the new year. Bread is the basic problem. In recent days the villages have supplied the city with (?tens) of tons of flour. Because of that, all the production lines at the Stepanakert bakery are working at full capacity.

There is, however, a severe shortage of fuel. At present only three or four buses running on diesel fuel serve the population of Stepanakert, and their fuel stocks are nearly depleted. Because of fuel and [word indistinct] shortage, the bus operations in Mardakert, Martuni, and Gadrut have almost come to a standstill.

The entire situation, including the unceasing animal theft and the creation of a wholesale trade department at

Khodzhaly despite the fact that there is not even the elementary infrastructure to support it in that village, confirm for the umpteenth time that the so-called Republican Organizational Committee pursues only one aim: To get rid of the NKAO Armenians and of their autonomous formation as soon as possible.

It should not be forgotten, however, that this situation might pose an equivalent danger to the other side.

Freight Unloading Status in Stepanakert Detailed

NC2412142090 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Reprint from KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH; date of paper not given: "Regular Television Show in Stepanakert Station"]

[Text] Yerevan, 21 Dec (ARMENPRES)—The freight coming into the Stepanakert railroad station is primarily construction materials. Small amounts of foodstuffs are also coming in. Between 3 and 13 December 186 freight cars entered the station carrying concrete structures, timber, cement, metal structures, sand, empty bottles, and other goods. There were also four cars of composite animal feed, one of sugar, one of canned food, one of pasta, and one of potatoes. Most of the foodstuffs were sent from Armenia. Azerbaijani television, however, often gives the impression that the world's best quality foodstuff are being sent to Nagorno-Karabakh by rail, yet the Armenians cry about being blockaded instead of unloading the freight cars and "enjoying" the contents.

Artur Ivanyan, deputy director of the railroad station says: On the night of 9-10 December our station unexpectedly received 103 freight cars: Ninety-five were loaded with vine shoots, salt, machinery, metal structures, mineral water, and other freight. Such generosity is occurs every four or five months. Before we had time to be amazed over this generosity, 18 more freight cars entered the station a few hours later. In the meantime, 66 unloaded freight cars were waiting in the station. Suddenly all the lines were congested. The dispatch of so many freight cars within a few hours was organized and we soon were convinced in this. K. Kazimov, chief of the freight unloading section at the Kirivabad station of the Azerbaijani Railways Department, arrived at the station accompanied by television reporters. He organized a news conference at the "hottest" spot. The next day we heard in the report on Azerbaijani television that the Stepanakert railroad station workers do not know how to work and as a result a large number of freight cars have remained idle.

Those in the station say that that high-level railway official did not stay long with the railroad workers. If he had the time he could have taken back with him the 121 freight cars sent within a few hours, as these cars were sent only to create a difficult situation and show it on television. Had he toured the freight cars for half an hour he would have seen automobiles with smashed windows and agricultural machinery from which even the wrenches have been stolen. Neither he nor the television reporters were concerned with this aspect of the issue.

Azerbaijan Militia Kidnaps Armenian Deputy

NC2612150490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0400 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Report by ARMENPRES correspondent Grigoryan from Stepanakert: "USSR People's Deputy Kidnapped"]

[Text] The members of the Azerbaijan special militia detachment kidnapped USSR people's deputy Boris Dadamyan at Stepanakert airport on 25 December.

According to eyewitnesses, during the afternoon a group from the special detachment carrying automatic weapons entered the airport passenger hall. They ordered the passengers to leave and led Boris Dadamyan to a car in the parking lot and drove off in an unknown direction.

Hearing about the incident, the men and women of Stepanakert gathered in front of the oblast party committee building where the emissaries from Baku and the military commandant headquarters are stationed. The troops immediately sealed off the central square. The representatives of the military commandant called on the people to disperse and not to join in provocations.

[Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian at 1215 GMT on 26 December carries the following report by Aleksandr Grigoryan, its correspondent in Stepanakert: "USSR people's deputy from NKAO Boris Dadamyan was returned to his home on the morning of 26 December, after being kept throughout the night in a cellar belonging to an unidentified Azerbaijani. He was not treated badly. It was not easy for him to talk with us, however, for he was under constant medical care."]

NKAO Students Demand Locksmith's Release

NC2612134090 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] Yerevan, 25 Dec (ARMENPRES)—Where is 54-year old Nikolay Galstyan, a locksmith at the "Artsakhavtotrans" association in Nagorno-Karabakh? Who kidnapped him in broad daylight on 7 December? Is he alive or not?

Dozens of students and teachers from Stepanakert's No. 1 Kh. Abovyan intermediary school gathered yesterday at Lenin square in Stepanakert to express their indignation at the injustice committed. The square was cordoned off by troops and armored cars. Marine Galstyan, a student from B section of grade 9, was standing in the front row of the participants in the spontaneous demonstration and was holding up a placard with the following inscription: "Return My Father." Yet another placard read: "Organizational Committee Out of Karabakh." The demonstrators chanted "Death to Murderers,"

"Polyanichko, Enough Disgracing the Russian People," and "The Organizational Committee is the Enemy of the Soldiers and People."

Colonel P. Yaroslavlev, military commandant of Stepanakert, approached those gathered and after attentively listening to Marine, who was sobbing, said: "I will not return your father, as that is beyond my powers. The law enforcement bodies are dealing with that issue."

What reply will Major General V. Kovalyov, the head of the oblast department of internal troops, give to Marine and to her four brothers and sisters?

Armenian 'Bandit' Captured, Imprisoned

NC2712110890 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 23 Dec 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] As the republic's procuracy has already stated, Genrikh Kevoyan, an Armenian bandit who actively participated in the attacks on a number of towns in Kazakhskiy Rayon, has been captured. An AZERINFORM correspondent asked Ismet Gaipov, procurator of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], to explain the situation. The interview published in the newspapers today stated that according to the verdict of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Court on 14 December, Kevoyan was found guilty of involvement in acts of banditry. His freedom has been restricted for seven years, three of which will be spent in prison.

Central Asia

Kazakh Communist Party Congress Reviews Rules

LD2212201490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Dec 90

[By correspondent Glukhovtsev at the second sittiing of the 17th Kazakh Communist Party Congress in Alma-Ata; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] The congress of Kazakh Communists is proceeding in a complex way. Issues concerning the current situation, tasks of the republican party organization, and the Kazakh Communist Party rules are on the agenda. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party, president of the republic, delivered a report on these issues.

The issue of the Kazakh Communist Party rules has provoked most contradictory and even diametrically opposed views; however, most delegates spoke in favor. It is noted that the draft rules do not contravene the 22d paragraph of the CPSU Rules. It is also important, the supporters of the adoption of the Kazakh Communist Party rules noted, that the party will definitely remain within the CPSU. [passage omitted]

Kazakh President Appoints New Cabinet Minister

LD2512154990 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 0200 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] By a decree of the president of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], Georgiy Yezhikov-Babakhanov was appointed state councillor for construction and scientific and regional development of the Kazakh SSR. He was also included in the cabinet of ministers of the Kazakh SSR. It was also decided that Yezhikov-Babakhanov will execute the tasks of the prime minister of the cabinet of ministers of the Kazakh SSR in his absence.

Kazakh Leader Interviewed on Ties With Seoul

SK2012040390 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Interview with Nursultan Nazarbayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers Presidium of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, byt an unidentified correspondent, during Nazarbayev's recent visit to Republic of Korea—recorded in Russian with superimposed Korean translation]

[Text] [Nazarbayev] My visit was the first for the leader of a Soviet republic upon President No Tae-u's invitation. I was warmly welcomed as the head of an independent state.

In the course of my visit, I met with President No Tae-u, Foreign Minister Choe Ho-chung, the minister of trade and industry, the leadership of the Korea Traders Association, and Korean businessmen.

We were deeply touched during our visits to the enterprises of Samsung, Hyundai, Daewoo, and Gold Star groups.

Over the past 30 years, the Koreans have rapidly developed their economy with little natural resources. Sixty percent of their products are exported. Great success has been attained in improving the people's standard of living. Korea is equipped with advanced technology of mass production and modern technology which make it possible to produce competitive goods in the world market.

We think that these assets and the entire course of Korea's economic growth are a very proper experience for our republic. We plan to employ this experience in our republic.

The question of rendering aid through loans to our country will be probably referred to during President No Tae-u's visit to the Soviet Union. In the course of our visit, there was an agreement on the allocation of a considerable amount of this loan to Kazakh to secure funds needed for Soviet-Korean cooperation.

I invited Korean businessmen to visit Kazakh to help them directly grasp the potentials of our republic.

The combination of Korea's technology of mass production with Kazakh's natural resources will bring about a reciprocal outcome.

[Correspondent] Do you have a plan to develop cooperation with Korea in the near future based on a concrete policy?

[Nazarbayev] I think that first of all, progress can be rapidly made in the processing of agricultural products, such as raw materials for leather products.

There is a possibility of (?rebuilding) small- and medium-size enterprises. Korean businessmen will supply us with equipment to produce people's consumer goods. In my opinion, these are two initial projects.

In the future, we will cooperate with each other in processing minerals, petroleum, and gas and in assembling wireless electronic products. We will discuss with the Daewoo business group the matter of jointly producing cars.

A basic problem facing the Soviet economy is to pay for the equipment to be supplied to us under the condition in which we lack convertible currencies. Thus, we agreed to employ the barter system or to pay for the goods sufficient in Korea in ruble. After that, we can reinvest the ruble into future joint venture enterprises. Under the present circumstances, this is the most prospective way.

[Correspondent] There is growing interest in the Korean leader's characteristics in connection with his visit to the Soviet Union. Will you talk about your impressions of him based on your meeting?

[Nazarbayev] Our meeting was successful in all aspects and pleasant. President No Tae-u is a vigorous and interesting conversationalist. He wanted to acquaint himself with the situation of our country in detail. I told him of the situation objectively. He listened to me with great interest. He regarded the restoration of relations between the Soviet Union and the ROK as very proud. This is very natural. He contributed to this restoration.

Normal relations which both sides are interested in are being enforced. I am convinced that President No Tae-u's visit will contribute to deepening these relations.

He is among the politicians who support the process of reform and Gorbachev's lines.

I believe that effective long-term cooperation between our country and Korea will be put into practice.

Leninabad Oblast Television Begins Broadcasts

LD2512141990 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1000 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Summary] The official opening of the Leninabad Oblast television center took place in Leninabad Oblast. Daily, at 1400 local time [0800 GMT], on the Dushanbe frequency, it is possible to watch Leninabad television.

Leninabad City Soviet Changes Name to Khodzhent

LD2512163390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Summary] The Leninabad City Soviet voted to return to the name Khodzhent; thus, the city of Leninabad is once again the city of Khodzhent. A monument to Lenin will return to one of the city's main streets.